

**THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS AND PAUL :
A STUDY OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF CHARLES
HAROLD DODD**

Otele Sili Perelini

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil
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THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS AND PAUL:
A STUDY OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF CHARLES HAROLD DODD

Being a thesis presented by
Otele Sili Perelini, B.D., S.T.M.,
to the University of St. Andrews
in application for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy



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THESIS ABSTRACT

Title: 'The Eschatology of Jesus and Paul: A Study of the Contribution of C.H. Dodd'

An understanding of the New Testament's teaching on eschatology is vital to our understanding of the New Testament. This awareness of the importance of eschatology in New Testament interpretation received considerable attention towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. This growing awareness owed a great deal to the works of two New Testament scholars - A. Schweitzer and C.H. Dodd. Both men gave absolute priority to the significance of eschatology in understanding the New Testament's teaching, and especially that of Jesus and Paul. Despite their agreement on the importance of eschatology as the framework within which the teaching of Jesus and Paul and the New Testament generally are to be understood, Schweitzer and Dodd varied considerably in their interpretations of New Testament eschatology, and especially that of Jesus.

This thesis is concerned mainly with Dodd's 'realised' exposition of Jesus' and Paul's eschatology. The writer thinks that it is only through a very clear and close understanding of Dodd's thesis, its origin, development and growth, the motivations behind the scholar's interpretation, the ethical implications of his thesis, the closeness between Jesus' and Paul's teaching implied by Dodd's thesis, and also its continued influence on subsequent scholarship on the subject, that Dodd's work on eschatology will be more fully appreciated.

This work showed that Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology' for both Jesus and Paul was original and peculiar to the scholar. However, at the same time research shows that Dodd was also indebted to the works of men like A. von Harnack, E. von Dobschütz, A. Deissmann, and R. Otto, whose interpretations, expositions, and exegetical notes he used in support of his thesis. What Dodd had borrowed from these earlier Continental scholars was used only as means for achieving his goal. None of these so-called predecessors of Dodd had anticipated the 'realised eschatology' of Jesus and Paul in the manner that Dodd did.

Dodd's writings showed that his initial work on Paul had brought him face to face with the reality that what has been anticipated for in the future is now fully realised in the events of the life, death, and/

and resurrection of Jesus. It seems most likely therefore that Dodd already had developed a realised exposition of Paul's teaching before his book The Parables of the Kingdom.

T.F. Glasson and J.A.T. Robinson have always been associated with Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology', however, as the conclusion pointed out, they did not make much extension and advancement to Dodd's initial thesis of 'realised eschatology'. T.F. Glasson was more concerned with the origin of the Parousia idea. Robinson, inasmuch as he upholds the presence of the Kingdom of God and salvation in the teaching of Jesus and Paul, at the same time allows room for a future aspect of eschatology, an aspect which Dodd in his initial thesis shunned completely.

Thus it seems that in his thesis of 'realised eschatology', Dodd stands alone. Though many scholars before and after him have agreed to the presence of the element of 'realised eschatology' in the teachings of Jesus and Paul, yet none has emphasised it to the extent that Dodd did. Thus Dodd's main contribution therefore lies in this part of New Testament eschatological interpretation which to a large extent was ignored by the 'consistent' school of interpretation of A. Schweitzer.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, that it is my own composition and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out at the University of St. Andrews initially under the supervision of Dr. G.A. Weir and subsequently under Dr. A.J.M. Wedderburn.

.....

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Otele S. Perelini has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court, 1970, No. 3, and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the Degree of Master of Philosophy.

.....

Dr. A.J.M. Wedderburn,
St. Mary's College,
University of St. Andrews.

In 1967 I matriculated in the Malua Theological College, Western Samoa, graduating in 1970 with a Diploma in Theology from the College, and Diploma of Proficiency in Religious Studies extramurally from the University of London. In 1971 I matriculated in the Pacific Theological College, Suva, Fiji, completing my studies for the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity with Distinction in New Testament Studies in 1973. In 1974-1975 I taught at the Leulumoega Fou College, Western Samoa. In September 1975 I matriculated in the Yale Divinity School, Yale University, New Haven, graduating May 1976 with a Master of Sacred Theology. From June 1976 to August 1977, I taught at the Malua Theological College. In 1977 I matriculated in the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, and have completed the required terms of research work resulting in the accompanying thesis.

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In the preparation of this thesis help was received from many people. I wish to thank Dr. F.W. Dillistone of Oxford for his most invaluable insights into the life and work of C.H. Dodd, which he had shared with me during my visit to Oxford. I would like also to thank Professor C.F.D. Moule (executor of C.H. Dodd's notes and papers) for allowing me to have access to Dodd's unpublished papers in the Mansfield Library, Oxford. I am grateful also to Professor R.McL. Wilson, of St. Mary's College, University of St. Andrews, not only for his willingness to help when called for, but also for lending me his personal notes on C.H. Dodd's lectures 1943-1945. I wish particularly to thank Rev. Dr. A.J.M. Wedderburn, who taught me much, and without whose patience and guidance this work would not have been completed.

To Miss Karen Lumsden of St. Andrews, I wish to express my gratitude for typing the whole of this thesis with both speed and accuracy.

ABBREVIATIONS

B.J.R.L.	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
E.T.	Expository Times
J.B.L.	Journal of Biblical Literature
J.T.S.	Journal of Theological Studies
N.T.S.	New Testament Studies
R.G.G.	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
S.J.T.	Scottish Journal of Theology
T.D.N.T.	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
T.W.N.T.	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
Z.N.W.	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
Z.T.K.	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

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INTRODUCTION

No discussion on the question of the interpretation of New Testament eschatology, or more specifically of the eschatology of Jesus and Paul could exclude the invaluable contribution of perhaps one of the most eminent New Testament scholars the English world has produced in the early years of the twentieth century - Charles Harold Dodd. Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology', which became the foundation of his interpretation of not only the original teaching of Jesus but also of the later Pauline preaching and teaching, has become the basis of much discussion among New Testament scholars of not only the English speaking world, but also on the continent, during his time and even years after.

The main concern of this thesis is to examine Dodd's teaching concerning the eschatology of Jesus and Paul. In an attempt to discuss Dodd's work on eschatology critically, it is hoped that both the weaknesses and strengths of his method of interpretation will be clearly laid out. This will therefore entail a critical exposition of Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology', its origin, development and growth, an examination of the relationship between Jesus' and Paul's eschatology, and the impact of such thesis upon an understanding of not only Jesus' and Paul's eschatology, but upon the New Testament generally. The implications of Dodd's interpretation of Jesus' and Paul's eschatology for their ethical teaching will also be considered.

Dodd's thesis of the 'realised eschatology' of Jesus' teaching and mission in particular presented a decisive contrast to the works of one major contemporary continental expositor of Jesus' and Paul's eschatological scheme - Albert Schweitzer. The encounter between A. Schweitzer's 'consistent school of interpretation' and C.H. Dodd's 'realised eschatology' has helped to bring about the beginning of a more moderate and compromising stand which many scholars, British and continental later espoused.¹ Thus it is fitting that the work of C.H. Dodd should be the basis of further discussions on the subject of the interpretation of New Testament eschatology in the twentieth century among the English speaking scholars.

Part One deals with:

i. the eschatological interpretation of Jesus' and Paul's teaching in the New Testament when Dodd entered the scene. This is largely dominated by A. Schweitzer's work and his 'consistent school of interpretation' of New Testament eschatology. Placing Dodd in his immediate background should help to clarify some of the motivations and concerns which are implied by Dodd's own eschatological standpoint.

ii. the eschatological interpretation of Dodd. This will involve a close and detailed examination of the bulk of Dodd's literature, paying very much attention to the origin and sources of his eschatology, Dodd's philosophy of time and history (an important aspect in understanding his thesis), the motives and concerns of the/

1. Naming a few: W. Manson, F.F. Bruce, G.E. Ladd, T.W. Manson, C.K. Barrett, W.G. Kümmel, H. Ridderbos, etc., etc.

the scholar in adopting his thesis, the subsequent development of his interpretation of eschatology, the relationship between Jesus' and Paul's understanding of eschatology, and also the ethical implications of his eschatology for the teaching of Jesus and Paul.

Part Two is based upon the assumption that Dodd's exposition of Jesus' and Paul's eschatology was anticipated to a large extent by some of the earlier German scholars. This section therefore hopes to point out where Dodd was indebted to his predecessors.

Dodd's thesis did not attract a big following on the continent, however, his work produced very strong followers from the British scholars - one, J.A.T. Robinson being a former student of Dodd.¹ T.F. Glasson's and J.A.T. Robinson's names are always associated with Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology'. B. Rigaux has indicated that both Glasson and Robinson extended Dodd's thesis of/

1. In Perrin's book, (Kingdom of God, pp. 79ff.) and Kümmel's (Promise and Fulfilment, p. 16), a number of scholars have been associated with Dodd's works. These scholars, namely, C.J. Cadoux, H.A. Guy, A.M. Hunter, V. Taylor, R.H. Fuller, J. Knox, Duncan, Bowman, etc., have acknowledged the presentness of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus. At the same time too, they see the Kingdom of God as a future fulfilment. In this thesis, I have limited myself to two major followers of C.H. Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology' - namely T.F. Glasson and J.A.T. Robinson. These two have shown considerable attachment to Dodd's thesis, and have both in their theses attempted to do away with the belief of a Second Coming of Christ in the teachings not only of Jesus but also of St. Paul. Both have relied considerably on Dodd's exposition of the parables of the Kingdom in their theses. Therefore, I feel it is justifiable to single them out as the two major followers of C.H. Dodd.

of 'realised eschatology' to the Pauline epistles.¹ Part Three therefore will deal with these two followers of Dodd's work, in an attempt to see their contributions towards New Testament eschatological interpretations, and especially how far Dodd's thesis is being extended by their works. Was Dodd's 'realised eschatology' confined only to the teaching of Jesus; and was Paul only included through the works of his followers?

The writer hopes that through a detailed study and exposition of Dodd's understanding of Jesus' and Paul's eschatology, laying open the initial development, the original concerns and motivations of the scholar in adopting his thesis, could in a way help to bring about not only a more positive appreciation, but also a more sympathetic understanding of the scholar's thesis. It also helps one to see much more clearly Dodd's major contribution towards the study of eschatology not only of the New Testament generally, but of Jesus and Paul in particular.

1. B. Rigaux, 'L'interprétation du Paulinisme dans l'exégèse récente', in Littérature et Théologie Pauliniennes, Strasbourg, 1960, pp. 30ff. (Henceforth referred to as 'L'interpretation'.)

PART ONE

CHARLES HAROLD DODD

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Charles Harold Dodd was born in Wrexham, Denbighshire, North Wales, on the 7th of April, 1884. His parents were devout Congregationalists, and Charles, one of the family of four boys, was brought up in the strict Congregationalist tradition which stretched back to early Calvinism. He entered University College, Oxford, as a classical scholar in 1902, and achieved a first class in Classical Moderations (1904) and in the Final School of Literae Humaniores (1906).¹ Dodd became very interested in Greek and Roman history, and showed considerable attachment to the works of Plato and Aristotle. His close association with E.F. Carritt, an authority on Platonic philosophy at Oxford, is of great significance since Dodd's philosophical position became quite apparent in his interpretation of New Testament eschatology later on. So far, Dodd's philosophical position was realistic rather than idealistic. 'God, man, and the world were there to be known if man is prepared to labour honestly in search for the ultimate meaning of the universe.'² This optimistic philosophical standpoint of Dodd in his earlier days had/

1. F.F. Bruce, 'C.H. Dodd', in Creative Minds in Contemporary Theology, edited by P.E. Hughes, 2nd revised edition, Grand Rapids, 1969, p. 239.
2. F.W. Dillistone, C.H. Dodd: Interpreter of the New Testament, Grand Rapids, 1977, p. 46.

had quite an impact upon the way he viewed the New Testament and especially the significance for the present which he saw in the events of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. The thesis of 'realised eschatology' is an optimistic conception especially in the midst of what Dodd then saw as an evil and sinful world.

In 1907 Dodd undertook research in Roman imperial numismatics at the University of Berlin, Germany, which had unrivalled resources for his research. In Berlin University Dodd had the chance to attend the lectures of Adolf von Harnack and Johannes Weiss of the Faculty of Theology. This early personal and most probably literary contact with Harnack and his works certainly made an impact upon the young student's ideas and thoughts. F.W. Dillistone indicates that Dodd was deeply impressed by Harnack's interpretation of Christianity, and especially with Harnack's phrase, 'eternal life in the midst of time by the strength and under the eyes of God'.¹

A year before Dodd went to Germany, Albert Schweitzer published in 1906 his book Von Reimarus zu Wrede, translated into English in 1910 under the title The Quest of the Historical Jesus. Schweitzer's conclusion contrasted sharply with Harnack's major claim that it was possible to construct a reliable picture of the Jesus of history who could be seen as the reflection within the concrete actualities of/

1. A von Harnack, What is Christianity?, London, 1901, p. 8. (Henceforth referred to as Christianity.) N.B. A fuller discussion of Harnack's possible influence upon Dodd will be found later under the section on the 'predecessors of Dodd'. (Cf. Dillistone, op.cit., pp. 54ff.)

of human life of the character of the eternal God himself.¹ Over against Harnack's 'Son of God mirroring the heart of the Father',² Schweitzer set the Son of Man suffering and dying in order to hasten the coming of the Kingdom.³ This was never fully accepted by Dodd who already may have shown an affinity to and interest in Harnack's line of interpretation. Even before Dodd had done much research on the New Testament, he was not prepared to agree with Schweitzer's exposition of Jesus. How far Harnack's work influenced Dodd's conclusion against Schweitzer is again hard to say with certainty at this early stage. However, as Dodd began to devote himself to a detailed study of the New Testament, he became more and more convinced that there was an alternative solution to the eschatological problem of the New Testament posed by Schweitzer.

Dodd entered Mansfield College, Oxford, as a candidate for the ministry in October 1908. The teaching faculty at Mansfield at that time was a distinguished one: it included Andrew Martin Fairbairn, who was succeeded as Principal in 1909 by William Boothby Selbie; there were also James Vernon Bartlet (in Church History), George Buchanan Gray (in Hebrew and Old Testament), and Alexander Souter (in Greek and New Testament). After he graduated in 1911, Dodd took up his first charge as a Congregationalist minister at Warwick from 1912-1915, a/

1. Harnack, op.cit., pp. 30-34.

2. Ibid., pp. 127-130.

3. A. Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, London, 1910, p. 369. (Henceforth referred to as Quest.)

a charge to which he returned for a short time in 1918-1919. His academic career began in 1915 when he was appointed Yates Lecturer in New Testament in Mansfield College in succession to James Moffatt (who had taken Alexander Souter's place in 1911 when Souter became Regius Professor of Humanity in Aberdeen University). He remained in this post (latterly with the title Professor) until 1930. Between 1930-1935, he was Ryland Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis at the University of Manchester, in succession to Arthur Samuel Peake. From Manchester Dodd was called in 1935 to succeed Francis Crawford Burkitt as Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. He thus became the first Free Churchman to hold a University Chair of Divinity at Cambridge since 1660. He remained in the Norris-Hulse Chair until his retirement from active academic teaching in 1949. Both during these years and subsequently he held many special lectureships. He was Speaker's Lecturer in Biblical Studies at Oxford (1933-1937), Shaffer Lecturer at Yale (1935), Ingersoll Lecturer at Harvard (1935-1950), Hewett Lecturer in the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Union Theological Seminary, New York, and Andover-Newton Seminary (1938), Olaus Petri Lecturer at Uppsala (1949), visiting Professor of Biblical Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York (1950), Bampton Lecturer at Columbia University, New York (1950), Stone Lecturer at Princeton Theological Seminary (1950), Syr D. Owen Evans Lecturer, Aberystwyth (1954), and Sarum Lecturer, Oxford (1954-1955). C.H. Dodd was a member of the British Academy since 1946, and a holder of many honorary degrees from many renowned institutions, not only here in Great Britain but also abroad. His contribution to New Testament scholarship is beyond measure, and his works on the New Testament/

Testament questions and problems are treated with utmost respect.¹

C.H. Dodd died on September 21, 1973.

Before we discuss Dodd's works and especially his 'realised' interpretation of New Testament eschatology and in particular Jesus' and Paul's, it is necessary first of all to present a brief summary of the situation immediately before Dodd. The interpretation of New Testament eschatology prior to Dodd was very much dominated by the works of Continental scholars, namely Johannes Weiss, Richard Kabisch, and Albert Schweitzer. These scholars lived in the closing years of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century. A brief discussion of their works will help provide the background against which Dodd's interpretation of eschatology entered the arena of New Testament research.

1. J. Jeremias, RGG³ (vol) II, col. 214; (eds) W.D. Davies, D. Daube, The Background of the New Testament Eschatology in Honour of C.H. Dodd, Curriculum Vitae, pp. xi-xii, Bibliography, pp. xiii-xviii, Cambridge University Press, 1956; F.F. Bruce, op.cit., pp. 239-240.

CHAPTER ONE

ESCHATOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE C.H. DODD

Johannes Weiss

The name of Albert Schweitzer stands out as that of one of the major figures in the twentieth century interpretation of New Testament eschatology. His work followed the eschatological interpretation of Jesus' proclamation and that of the early Christians suggested by Johannes Weiss and Richard Kabisch towards the end of the nineteenth century.¹ As a member of the History of Religions School, Weiss in 1892 discovered from purely historical and exegetical methods the future eschatological character of Jesus' proclamation of God's Kingdom.² Weiss developed his views in conscious opposition to those of his father-in-law, Albert Ritschl, who saw the Kingdom of God as the 'moral organization of humanity through action inspired by love'.³ For Johannes Weiss, the Kingdom of God in the message of Jesus was essentially an apocalyptic concept. He broke with the scholarship of his day by insisting that a historical understanding of the Kingdom of God in the message of Jesus must recognise that it was essentially an apocalyptic concept. The Kingdom of God was imminent, indeed Jesus even had moments of proleptic vision when he perceived the opposing kingdom of Satan as already overcome and broken, at which moment he/

1. RGG³ (vol) III, col. 1082; RGG³ (vol) VI, col. 1582.

2. Ibid.

3. A. Ritschl, The Christian Doctrine of Justification, vol. iii, Edinburgh, 1900, p. 12.

he declared with daring faith that the Kingdom of God had already dawned. But this was proleptic vision; in general the actualization of the Kingdom of God has yet to take place.¹ Weiss established the necessity for a historical understanding of the Kingdom of God in the message of Jesus firmly in the context of ancient Judaism.²

Weiss investigated the historical background of the use of the term 'Kingdom of God' by Jesus. He discovers two uses of the concept in Judaism:

- i. Emphasis upon God as Ruler;
- ii. Emphasis upon man as subject.

The latter reaches its high point in the Rabbinic concept of obedience, where man or a people take upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of God. Weiss understands that, in the message of Jesus, the emphasis is put upon God as a Ruler, and the Kingdom of God is conceived of as the breaking out of an overpowering divine storm which breaks into history to destroy and to renew. Weiss was adamant on the point that the Kingdom of God is solely and only activity of God. Man could not do anything, not even Jesus can bring, establish, or found the Kingdom of God, only God can do so.³ Therefore, Jesus and early Christians have anticipated this imminent moment when the Kingdom of God would break in. Thus, according to Weiss, it is in the context of/

1. J. Weiss, Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God, London, 1892, p. 129. (Henceforth referred to as Jesus' Proclamation.)
2. N. Perrin, Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom, Philadelphia, 1976, p. 68. (Henceforth referred to as Jesus.)
3. J. Weiss, Jesus' Proclamation, pp. 129-130.

of this imminent expectation of the Kingdom of God that Jesus proclaimed his ethical teaching. Jesus' ethic of righteousness is an ethic of preparation, a pre-condition for one's entrance into the eschatological Kingdom which is going to appear at any moment.¹ As such, the nearness of the Kingdom becomes the motivation of the new morality.² From this eschatological perspective Weiss viewed Pauline theology and ethics. He saw Pauline eschatology as one of the several motifs of his ethics;³ and he found here at least part of the basis for the apostolic imperatives. According to Weiss, 'Paul's ethic, inasmuch as it moves in the imperative, is the alarm cry of the last hour; still one more mighty final exertion of strength, then comes the end'.⁴

J. Weiss' main contribution was that he precipitated the problem of interpreting eschatology by exposing the radically eschatological nature of the original Christian proclamation. As he saw Jesus' and early Christian proclamation as being basically of late Jewish apocalyptic character, likewise he claimed that Paul's theological roots were firmly planted in Jewish apocalyptic. Weiss understood Paul's constant reference in his epistles not only to human wrath but also to the coming wrath of God (Col. 3:6; Rom. 1:18; 2:8ff.), and to the revelation of the just judgement of God who will reward every man according to his work in the future as one of the main characteristics of his ethic. The imminent/

1. Ibid., p. 105; N. Perrin, Jesus, pp. 34-35.

2. W.G. Kümmel, The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of its Problems, London, 1970, p. 228. (Henceforth referred to as The New Testament.)

3. J. Weiss, History of Primitive Christianity..ii, London, 1937, pp. 559ff. (Henceforth referred to as Primitive Christianity.)

4. Primitive Christianity, p. 577.

imminent coming of the Kingdom in the future predominates, giving Paul's ethic 'the character of a highly tensioned religious idealism which consequently alienates it from the world, or rather an indifference to the interests of everyday civil life'.¹ Thus Paul lacks the feeling for that which adorns and transfigures life. He seems to have no eye for art, and if he had had it, it would now belong to the things which he had thrown away as dirt for the sake of his Lord Jesus Christ (Phil. 3:7f.). Since his whole concern is for those things which are beyond this temporal world, therefore we can expect from him 'no ethic which could show us how, living in the midst of the world, working close to it and within it, we may at the same time satisfy the world's demands and the demands of God, without becoming unfaithful to one or the other'.²

This original approach of Johannes Weiss towards not only the teaching of Jesus and the early Christian proclamation, but also to the Pauline preaching and teaching, was later made famous by Albert Schweitzer's book The Quest of the Historical Jesus, which gives a history of the interpretation of Jesus and then in a hundred pages interprets Jesus in terms of 'consistent eschatology', i.e. as a Jewish apocalypticist who belongs to first century Judaism and has little relevance for the modern man.

1. Ibid., p. 593.

2. J. Weiss, Primitive Christianity, p. 594.

Richard Kabisch

The eschatological character of early Christian proclamation as suggested by Weiss was closely followed by Richard Kabisch.¹ Kabisch, who had been considering the plan of a work on Pauline ethics, had become aware that Paul's ethic was to a large extent conditioned by eschatological expectations. According to Kabisch, salvation was thought of by Paul as deliverance from judgement and destruction. Justification and reconciliation are subservient to his deliverance, and do not describe a state of salvation independent of it. The spiritual wellbeing (in the present) is to Paul only anticipatory first fruits of the blessedness which the future has in stock. This blessedness consists in the believer being freed at the Parousia from the fleshly body in order to put on the heavenly robe of glory. Thus eschatology is the foundation both of the dogmatics and of the ethics of the apostle. Kabisch in his work observes the eschatological orientation of Pauline theology just as he sees that Paul's eschatological orientation is consciously dependent on the Jewish concepts of his time. Thus Kabisch reiterated J. Weiss' thesis. However, according to W.G. Kümmel 'at one point Kabisch goes beyond Weiss and in this respect he follows O. Everling whom he often cites, and H. Gunkel whom he fails to mention. He emphasises most strongly the antique realism and singularity of the Pauline doctrine of/

1. R. Kabisch, Die Eschatologie des Paulus in ihren Zusammenhängen mit dem Gesamtbegriff des Paulus, Göttingen, 1893.

of redemption without inquiring what consequences this insight could have for the significance of Paul in the present. But this very fact makes Kabisch also a representative of a 'consistent' history of religion view of Paul'.¹

Albert Schweitzer

The eschatological interpretation by Albert Schweitzer of Jesus' preaching and teaching in the Synoptic Gospels is indeed of great significance to our study of C.H. Dodd's work, since it presents quite a contrasting view to that held by Dodd. Although Dodd hardly made any acknowledgement of Schweitzer's work, it is quite obvious that many times Dodd was refuting Schweitzer's 'consistent' interpretation of eschatology.² According to Schweitzer, Jesus' coming did not usher forth the Kingdom; instead he anticipated the coming of the Kingdom of God in the near future, which would consequently bring in the new age.³ He agreed with the eschatological insight of Weiss which made an end of the modern view that Jesus founded the Kingdom. This view did away with the interpretation of Jesus' activities as indicating the coming of the Kingdom of God, and simply made his role a waiting one.⁴ In Jesus' charge to his disciples/

1. W.G. Kümmel, The New Testament, pp. 232-233.

2. Dillistone in an interview indicated that a friend of Dodd admitted that 'Dodd was fighting Schweitzer to the end of his life'.

3. A. Schweitzer, Quest, p. 355.

4. Ibid., p. 356.

disciples (Matt. 10:23) he did not expect to see them back in the present age.¹ However, at the non-fulfilment of the consummation, Jesus then hoped to set the eschatological wheel in motion and to bring all history to a close. It refused to turn, and Jesus threw himself upon it.²

As for Paul's eschatology, Schweitzer again closely followed the previous works of J. Weiss and R. Kabisch. He agreed with Weiss and Kabisch concerning the eschatological nature of the original Christian proclamation. Schweitzer claimed that Paul's theological roots were firmly planted in Jewish apocalyptic, and he faulted the nineteenth century interpreters for regarding eschatology as only a kind of an 'annexe' to the main edifice of Pauline doctrine.³ For Schweitzer, Paul's eschatological system is 'clear and consistent', dominated by an inner logic 'which was never violated in any of its parts'.⁴ As Paul's system is basically Jewish, his eschatological assertions therefore are chronologically determined and temporally calculable. From these principles, Schweitzer established an entire system of Pauline eschatology, marked by extreme logicality and mathematical precision.⁵ This whole system of Schweitzer is one-sidedly Jewish. He argued that/

1. A. Schweitzer, Quest, p. 357.

2. Ibid., p. 369.

3. A. Schweitzer, Paul and His Interpreters, London, 1912, p. 53. (Henceforth referred to as Paul.)

4. Ibid., pp. 61f.

5. See criticisms of A. Schweitzer by W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, London, 1955, pp. 285ff (henceforth referred to as Rabbinic Judaism), and Christian Origins and Judaism, Philadelphia, 1962, p. 198 (henceforth referred to as Christian Origins).

that Paulinism and Hellenism have in common their terminology, but with regard to ideas nothing. The apostle did not hellenise Christianity. His conceptions are equally distinct from those of the mystery religions.¹ The solution must therefore consist in leaving out of the question Greek influences in every form and in every combination, and one must attempt, however one-sidedly, to understand the doctrine of the apostle of the gentiles on the basis of Jewish primitive Christianity.² Many critics have pointed out how the system is Schweitzer's rather than Paul's. However, despite the valuable emphasis that Schweitzer, like Weiss and Kabisch, gave to eschatology in the thinking of the apostle, it is hard to say that Paul was oriented towards the future in the manner in which Schweitzer conceived.³

It is important here to note that although A. Schweitzer's interpretation of Paul's eschatological scheme was basically Jewish apocalyptic, yet his teaching on Paul is not quite as one-sidedly oriented as his exposition of Jesus' teaching. This is largely due to the significance of the events of Christ's death and resurrection which Schweitzer sees dominant in Paul. However, despite the centrality of these events in Paul's soteriology, the imminent coming of the eschaton still holds considerable significance in the Pauline system. It is true/

1. A. Schweitzer, Paul, p. 238.

2. A. Schweitzer, Paul, p. 240.

3. For tributes to Schweitzer's singular contribution; see E.E. Ellis, Paul and His Recent Interpreters, Grand Rapids, 1961, p. 32 (henceforth referred to as Paul). H.W. Boers, 'Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15', in Interpretation 21, 1967, pp. 31ff.

true that Pauline eschatology brought to the fore the significance of what already has been achieved through Jesus' death and resurrection. Paul's Christ-mysticism acknowledged the possibility of Christians now being transformed into the state of mystical dying and rising again in Christ. However, for Schweitzer, this could only be a possibility in view of the imminent coming of the end. This is because, in this very interim period since the coming of Christ, the future which is so imminent penetrates into the present, creating a period where one could live and be transformed into a new category of humanity through dying and rising again with Christ. The events of Christ for Paul, according to Schweitzer, represent the beginning of the end.

The relationship between ethics and eschatology in Paul was explained by Schweitzer in terms of the Pauline mysticism. Unlike the mysticism fostered by Hellenistic and Greek mysteries, Paul's mysticism arose out of Jewish apocalyptic.¹ Its peculiarity is that 'it does not bring the two worlds into contact in the mind of the individual man, as Greek and medieval mysteries did, but dovetails one into the other, and thus creates for the moment at which one passes over into the other an objective temporally conditioned mysticism'.² For Schweitzer, it is only the time immediately before the end that brings in such a possibility of believers dying and rising again in Jesus Christ, forming one single category of mankind, and thus anticipates the future in the present.³ Therefore, without doubt, Schweitzer more than J. Weiss/

1. A. Schweitzer, Paul, p. 242.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 244.

J. Weiss emphasises the controlling place of eschatology in Pauline ethics, which he says is 'born out of the eschatological expectation'.¹ However, although Schweitzer believes that this eschatological basis gives Paul's ethical principles and advice a temporal 'interim' character,² he does not assent to the notion that an ascetic, world-denying ethic results. Rather the apostle's spirituality raises his ethic above the level of a mere outward asceticism.³ Paul does not renounce the earthly, but stresses man's inner freedom from it. Schweitzer sees the mysticism of Paul as the key to his ethics and also to his theology as a whole. But this state of a mystical dying and rising again in Christ is only a possibility in view of the imminent coming of the end, and by virtue of this unique moment, the future could now be experienced.⁴ However, despite this anticipation of the future in the present, Schweitzer still insists that the doctrine of the death and resurrection of Christ and the eschatological mysticism of Paul, the basis of his ethical teaching, are alike cosmically conditioned; i.e. they are a possibility only because the cosmic end is near.⁵

A. Schweitzer and C.H. Dodd/

1. A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul and the Apostle, London, 1931, p. 309. (Henceforth referred to as Mysticism.)
2. Ibid., p. 300.
3. Ibid., pp. 311f.
4. Schweitzer, Paul, p. 244.
5. Ibid., p. 245.

A. Schweitzer and C.H. Dodd

It is important to note here that, although C.H. Dodd's 'realised eschatology' differs so distinctly from A. Schweitzer's interpretation of Jesus' eschatology, yet he is so remarkably close to Schweitzer's interpretation of Paul. In his book The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, Schweitzer clearly draws the distinction between Jesus' eschatology and that of Paul. According to Schweitzer, Jesus follows the 'Son of Man' eschatology of Daniel which speaks of the Kingdom of God rather than the 'Messianic Kingdom'.¹ The Kingdom of God is yet to be consummated in the future through the coming of the 'Son of Man-Messiah'. A synthesis of the Danielic and prophetic eschatologies is only effected by Jesus in so far as he identifies the 'Son of Man' with the Messiah of David's line.² However, even though Jesus brings together the Messiah and the Son of Man, he does not undertake any more comprehensive synthesis between the prophetic and the Danielic eschatologies; instead he draws his picture of the events of the end exclusively from the scheme known to us from the books of Daniel and Enoch.³ Danielic eschatology includes a period of tribulation and suffering, the testing of the saints; this will be followed by the general resurrection of the dead - the wicked to punishment and the righteous to the Kingdom of God ruled by the Son of Man. This future hope of the Kingdom has become something transcendent, something to be accomplished in a realm other than this worldly sphere.

1. Schweitzer, Mysticism, p. 80.

2. Ibid., p. 82.

3. Ibid., p. 83.

In contrast to Jesus' eschatology, Paul's eschatology resembles that of the scribes as well as of Baruch and Ezra.¹ Baruch and Ezra represent the eschatology of the scribes which seeks to bring into harmony the two different lines of eschatology - the prophetic and the Danielic. This they do by regarding the Messianic Kingdom of the prophets as something temporary, which is to give place to the eternal Kingdom of God which later is to be the consummation of history.² This eschatological scheme presents an alternative order of events to that which Jesus follows. It speaks of pre-messianic tribulations through which the contemporary elect will remain alive. After the tribulation, the Messiah appears who exercises judgement over all the survivors. The wicked are condemned to death and consequently the Messiah rules in his Kingdom. At the end of the Messianic Kingdom, the Messiah will return to heaven. At his second coming there will be a general resurrection of all the dead which is to be followed by the last judgement. The wicked will be punished in eternal torment, and the righteous will enter into eternal blessedness. According to Schweitzer, this is the eschatological scheme that Paul followed. The eschatology of Paul is therefore quite different from that of Jesus, a fact which hitherto had never been duly appreciated. Instead of thinking as Jesus did, along the lines of the simple eschatology of Daniel and Enoch, he represents the two-fold eschatology of the scribes.

According to Schweitzer, Paul does not simply take over the eschatology of the scribes; instead Paul introduces new conceptions/

1. Schweitzer, Mysticism, p. 90.

2. Ibid., p. 84.

conceptions arising out of his conviction of the significance of the events of Christ's death and resurrection. Paul's eschatology anticipates two resurrections. Though he, like the apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra, originally expected only one resurrection, that is after the Messianic Kingdom, the question of the fate of those believers who died before the Messianic Kingdom presented the apostle with one of the problems raised by the delay of the immediate return of Christ. According to Schweitzer, Paul's decision was to the effect that those dead have not to wait for the resurrection which takes place at the end of the Messianic Kingdom, but by an earlier special resurrection, they become participants in the glory of the Messianic Kingdom just as much as the other elect of the last generation.¹ Thus Paul anticipates two resurrections; the first one of the believers in Christ in the Messianic Kingdom, and the second one at the end of the Messianic Kingdom in which everyone will rise either to eternal blessedness or to eternal torment. Those believers alive at the coming of the Messianic Kingdom will be transformed into a resurrection mode of existence (1 Cor. 15:50-53). Similarly, those who are alive at the return of Christ will pass by transformation out of the natural mode of living into the eternal. The problem of death as necessary before one passes on to another form of existence has been solved by Paul according to Schweitzer in the 'mystical being in Christ'.²

In the mysticism of Paul, believers in a mysterious fashion share the dying and rising again of Christ, and in this way they are swept out/

1. Mysticism, p. 92.

2. Ibid., p. 96.

out of their ordinary mode of existence and form a special category of humanity. According to Schweitzer, the mysticism of Paul did not only arise as a consequence of the problem of the mode of existence of the elect in the Messianic Kingdom, but that mysticism was also a direct reflection of the apostle upon the import of the events of Christ. For the apostle, the resurrection of Jesus implies the presence of the supernatural age in the present. If Jesus has risen, that means it is now already the supernatural age. The resurrection of Jesus is the initial event of the rising of the dead in general (1 Cor. 15:20), the first fruits of those that have fallen asleep. For Paul, the supernatural world has already begun, though it has not yet become manifest.¹ The final hour had struck at the resurrection of Jesus; faith ceased to be simply a faith of expectation, in fact it had taken up present certainties into itself. According to Schweitzer, this period when the supernatural is already present in the natural world provides an ideal condition for Paul's mysticism. The believer in Christ only needs to realise in thought what is happening to him and to the world, namely that powers of supernatural existence are engaged in so transforming him and all about him, so far as that is its destiny, in such a way that their outward appearance is still that of the transient world while the reality is already that of the eternal world.²

Dodd like Schweitzer speaks of the mysticism of the apostle Paul. For Dodd, mystical union of the believers with Christ is made possible/

1. Ibid., pp. 98-99.

2. Ibid., p. 99.

possible only because of the fact that the Kingdom of God is already here. Christ is the inclusive representative of the redeemed humanity, and through faith in Christ the believer is incorporated into the body of Christ.¹ According to Schweitzer, the mysticism of Paul is made possible by the delay of the Parousia. In his mysticism, Schweitzer attempts to explain how it was that the immediate end of the world has not happened, and the eschatological expectation was transformed into a belief in supernatural existence. Both Schweitzer and Dodd have seen the significance of the events of Christ's death and resurrection for the eschatology of Paul. These events have ushered in the supernatural age in the present. However, while Dodd saw the events as signifying the presence of the final end, Schweitzer saw them as the beginning of the Messianic Kingdom which at its conclusion in the future will bring about the consummation of the final end to history.

Dodd and Schweitzer basically agree concerning the centrality of the events of Christ in the reshaping of Paul's whole eschatology. They both also agree on the significance of these events in ushering in the supernatural age within this present world. The two ages intermingle in the present. Dodd and Schweitzer also agree that for Paul, Christians could participate in this supernatural mode of existence through their being 'in Christ'. Dodd again reasserts the mystical unity that exists between Jesus and the members of his community.² The difference between Dodd and/

1. C.H. Dodd, The Epistle to the Romans, London, 1932, p. 86. (Henceforth referred to as Romans.)

2. C.H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, London, 1936, pp. 146f. (Henceforth referred to as Apostolic Preaching.)

and Schweitzer lies in the fact that for Dodd, the eschaton is already here, whereas for Schweitzer the end is still to come. For Dodd the futuristic eschatology of the earlier epistles has been replaced by Paul's Christ-mysticism. For Schweitzer, the events of Christ's death and resurrection are only but the beginning of the end. These events bring forth the beginning of the Messianic Kingdom which at its conclusion will bring about the consummation of history. Thus we are living in the interim period between the coming of the Messiah and the final end.

In Dodd's work on Romans which appeared a year after Schweitzer's The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, Dodd hardly had any reference to Schweitzer's work. However, much of his effort was directed to his thorough exposition of the realised character of the teaching and preaching of Jesus in the Gospels. Any reference to Pauline eschatology would be the reassertion of his earlier point of view of the development of Paul's eschatology from that of apocalyptic to that of 'realised eschatology'.¹ Dodd never countered Schweitzer's exposition of Paul's eschatological scheme as set out in his book The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, but at the same time he did not show assent to it. In fact, his position still remained that of 'realised eschatology' for both Jesus and Paul. Whether Dodd's main intention was to draw the two together as one way of polemicising against the History of Religions School's view of the historical authenticity of Jesus' teaching and preaching in the Gospels is hard to say. However, it seems clear that for the next fifteen years after Schweitzer's The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, Dodd still enthusiastically defended his 'realised' position.

1. Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, pp. 148f.

CHAPTER TWO

C.H. DODD'S 'REALISED ESCHATOLOGY'

Our main concern in this thesis is with another school of thought, very different in its views to those of the 'consistent eschatology' of A. Schweitzer and his predecessors: this school emphasises the element of present fulfilment in Jesus' eschatological preaching and teaching and holds that the full realisation of the eschatological events of Jesus' life, death and resurrection was central to Paul's message. Foremost in this school is C.H. Dodd, with whose works we shall primarily be concerned, although we shall also consider those of some of the scholars who later came under his influence.¹ Dodd's interpretation of New Testament eschatology as a whole, and in particular that of Jesus, is in decisive contrast to that of A. Schweitzer and his earlier colleagues, Johannes Weiss and Richard Kabisch, to whom Schweitzer owes much of his interpretation. Although Dodd agrees with Schweitzer concerning the centrality of eschatology in early Christian proclamation,² yet his eschatological interpretation opened up another possibility which was largely ignored by the 'consistent' line of/

1. T.F. Glasson, The Second Advent, London, 1945; His Appearing and His Kingdom, London, 1953; (henceforth referred to as Advent and His Appearing). J.A.T. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, London, 1957; (henceforth referred to as His Coming). E.E. Wolfzorn, 'Realised Eschatology: An exposition of G.H. Dodd's Thesis', in Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses, 1962, pp. 44-70.
2. J.. Kallas sees this as a tribute to A.. Schweitzer's work; see The Significance of the Synoptic Miracles, London, 1961, p. 103.

of interpretation.

The term 'realised eschatology' first appeared in the original edition of C.H. Dodd's book The Parables of the Kingdom, 1935. However, in his later work, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, written approximately ten years after his three earlier works which were so significant for the understanding of his theory of 'realised eschatology',¹ Dodd states that emendations of the term have been suggested.² Professor George Florovsky prefers 'inaugurated eschatology'. J.A.T. Robinson also prefers the same term.³ J. Jeremias uses 'sich realisierende Eschatologie', a term suggested to Jeremias by Ernst Haenchen and which S.H. Hooke aptly translated, 'an eschatology that is in process of realisation'.⁴ Dodd does not object to this terminology, although he himself does not employ it in his subsequent writings. The term 'realised eschatology' is specifically associated with Dodd's interpretation of Jesus' preaching and teaching as presented in the Synoptic Gospels. However, it is important to see the development of Dodd's ideas and thought leading up to his thesis as fully expounded in his book The Parables of the Kingdom. This thesis will show that the idea of 'realised eschatology' is the outcome of a long development in the thought and ideas of the scholar, which most probably was initiated by his earlier studies of the Pauline materials.

1. Parables of the Kingdom, London, 1935; (henceforth referred to as Parables), Apostolic Preaching, and History and the Gospel, London, 1938, (henceforth referred to as History).
2. C.H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, Cambridge, 1953, p. 447, n. 1; (henceforth referred to as The Fourth Gospel).
3. J.A.T. Robinson, His Coming, pp. 29f., 81f..
4. J. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, trans. by S.H. Hooke, London, 1954, p. 159; see also N. Perrin, The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus, London, 1963, pp. 73-74; (henceforth referred to as Kingdom of God). H. Conzelmann, An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, London, 1969, p. 107.

In Dodd's exposition of Paul's eschatological framework within which the apostle operated, it is important to note the close affinity Dodd attributes to the system of Paul and that of Jesus. Perhaps it is necessary at this stage to ask what Dodd was really trying to do. What or who influenced Dodd to take such a standpoint as regards Jesus' and Paul's eschatology? Was Dodd simply trying to bring Paul closer to Jesus, or vice-versa? Did Dodd go into the preaching and teaching of Jesus with an already formulated thesis to be confirmed? How far was Dodd's thesis a direct reaction against A. Schweitzer's work and thesis? How could one differ so remarkably from Schweitzer in the interpretation of Jesus and yet be so close in his exposition of Paul?

As for Paul's eschatological scheme, Dodd sees no diversion from that of the early Church's proclamation. The faith of Paul is rooted in the fact that 'when the time had fully come, God sent forth his Son' (Gal. 4:4). For Paul, Jesus' life, death, and resurrection have completed the divine plan, and all subsequent history must be different because of these events. This conviction is clearly indicated by Dodd when he writes, 'it is in the epistles of Paul that full justice is done for the first time to the principle of 'realised eschatology' which is vital to the whole kerygma. That supernatural order of life which the apocalyptists had predicted in terms of pure fantasy is now described as an actual fact of experience'.¹ Any thought of the hope yet to come remains as a background of thought for the apostle, but the foreground is more and/

1. C.H. Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 65.

and more occupied by the contemplation of all the divine riches enjoyed here and now by those who are in Christ Jesus.¹ God has already manifested his righteousness (Romans 3:21-26), and in Christ's cross God triumphed over the principalities and powers of the universe (Col. 2:15). The resurrection of Christ is for Paul the first stage of that transfiguration of human nature into the heavenly condition, the first-fruits of them that sleep (1 Cor. 15:20), the first-born of the dead (Col. 1:18). These events have the actuality which belongs to the historical process, and at the same time they possess the absolute significance which belongs to the eschaton, the ultimate fulfilment of divine purpose.² This understanding of the apostle, according to Dodd, generally underlies his interpretation of New Testament eschatology, with its emphasis on the present reality of the end brought about by Christ's death and resurrection. It indicates a series of events which happen in the course of history, but whose significance introduces a transcendent order which is beyond time and space. Dodd calls the notion of a chronological end to history 'a fiction designed to express the reality of teleology within history'.³ C.H. Dodd's exposition of Paul's eschatology as 'realised' was certainly not a consequent development after his 'realised eschatology' of Jesus, as expounded in The Parables of the Kingdom. In fact, Dodd seems to have already considered Paul's/

1. Ibid., p. 149; A.M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, London, 1940, p. 105. (Henceforth referred to as Predecessors.)

2. Apostolic Preaching, pp. 94f.

3. Ibid., pp. 82ff.

Paul's work and arrived at this conclusion concerning the nature of Paul's eschatological scheme before he considered the teaching of Jesus in the Gospels.

It is important to note that C.H. Dodd's earliest major work on the New Testament was on Paul.¹ This work was written during the dark period of the First World War, and it bore witness to Dodd's struggle with his own optimistic outlook of life and history which had been severely shaken by his experience of the 1914-1918 tragedy.² The question that kept coming back to Dodd's mind was 'what could now be justly regarded as the hope of the future?'³ Dodd's answer came not through contemplating a political nor an ideal social system but rather from religion. Dodd was convinced that the only hope for the world was to recapture the vision of Paul, and to reinterpret it for the new age. According to Dodd, Paul's experience and conviction of the significance of the divine drama through the ages, culminating in the events of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, could become the revolutionary force in life, bringing about a positive ethical attitude in man, to the world, and to one another. Dodd speaks of the divine commonwealth or the Kingdom of God which was indeed in bondage through history,⁴ and which the prophets had foreseen being freed in the future. Dodd understands that Paul, through his experience of the significance of the death and resurrection of/

1. C.H. Dodd, The Meaning of Paul for Today, London, 1920. (Henceforth referred to as Meaning of Paul.)
2. Compare the effect of these events on the theology of Karl Barth.
3. F.W. Dillistone, op.cit., p. 86.
4. Meaning of Paul, pp. 38f.

of Christ, sees the beginning of this new age.¹ 'The heir had come of age; the dim light of an ever-deferred hope had given place to the clear dawning of the day.'²

Dodd's attempt to present Paul's Gospel to his generation led him to discover what he termed 'the fundamental belief of all early Christians that the new age had begun'.³ Here in his earliest major work on the New Testament, Dodd was captivated by the present reality of the new age that Paul held so strongly. Dodd saw the apocalyptic imageries in Paul's epistles as merely symbolical and figurative of the future. Paul's conviction was that he was living at the turning point of history, and the events of Christ's death and resurrection were crucial in the initiation of this new era.

According to Dodd, Paul in his earlier epistles, and no doubt in his earlier preaching, made free use of the apocalyptic imagery, though it is clear that he was all the time re-interpreting it. However, as the apostle grew older, the apocalyptic imagery of the earlier days tended to disappear, at least from the foreground of his thought, and more and more his mind came to dwell upon the gradual growth and upbuilding of the divine commonwealth. The realisation of the hope of the world has already begun since the coming of Christ.⁴

1. Ibid., p. 39.

2. 1 Thess. 5:4-8; 2 Thess. 1:10; 2:2; 1 Cor. 1:18; 3:13; 5:5; 2 Cor. 1:14; 6:2; Rom. 13:12-13; Phil. 1:6,10; 2:16., ibid. p. 39.

3. Ibid., p. 39.

4. This is an earlier indication of the eschatological development of Paul which Dodd later expounded much more thoroughly in his article, 'The Mind of Paul ii', published in the Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library, vol. xviii, 1934, pp. 69-107, and later reprinted in his New Testament Studies, 1953, pp. 83-128. (Henceforth referred to as 'Mind of Paul').

Undoubtedly, Paul was Dodd's first love.¹ Before he had seriously studied the preaching and teaching of Jesus in the Gospels, Dodd's conviction of the meaning and significance of the historical events of Christ's life, death, and resurrection had already taken form through his study of the Pauline epistles. He was convinced that the new age had already begun, the coming of Christ was in fact the turning point of history. It is too early at this stage to determine with certainty how much of Dodd's understanding of Pauline eschatology had influenced his later position concerning Jesus' eschatology. However, one must bear in mind that Dodd's initial work was on Paul, and that it is through his Pauline studies that he came to understand the historic events of Christ, not as preliminary events to the coming of the new age, but as events which signify that the new age has already begun.

In a short paper published in 1923,² Dodd criticised A. Schweitzer's 'consistent eschatology' as an inadequate presentation of New Testament eschatology, and especially of Christianity's view of the world and life. Instead of the monistic attitude implied by a 'consistent' interpretation of eschatology, Christianity acknowledges the tension in life and in the world.³ Dodd does not see New Testament eschatology as identical with that of pre-Christian Judaism. Jewish apocalyptic distinguished sharply between this age and the age to come, but for the early Christians the/

1. F.W. Dillistone, op.cit., pp. 87-89.

2. C.H. Dodd, 'The Eschatological Element in the New Testament and Its Permanent Significance', in Interpreter, vol. xx, 1923. (Henceforth referred to as 'Eschatological Element'.)

3. Ibid., p. 17.

the age to come is here already. The two ages overlapped. Dodd's New Testament eschatological scheme is no doubt Paul's, whose understanding of the significance of the death and resurrection of Jesus had completely changed and coloured his concept of time and history.

The apocalyptic tendencies of Paul in his earlier epistles (1 and 2 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians) show a logical development of events according to the apocalyptic scheme which naturally had an impact upon the young and immature thoughts of the apostle. However, with the delay of the parousia, the apostle was reawakened to the original significance and theological depth of the initial coming of Christ.¹ For Dodd, it would be hard to ascribe the development of a 'realised eschatology' in Paul solely to the delay of the parousia. Paul certainly understood the importance and significance of Christ's death and resurrection in the course of events, but the prolonged delay would naturally have minimised the excitement, thus resulting in the focussing of more thought upon the already realised aspect of Christ's first coming.²

The existence of the two ages together in the time scheme of Paul poses the question of how one could be able to live in both ages at once. Here the Platonic philosophical tendencies of Dodd from his undergraduate days lift Paul's concept beyond the limits of its historical realm to a timeless and eternal existence while still on earth. Thus, with a Platonic solution of the problem of the two ages existing side by side now, Dodd's/

1. Ibid., p. 18; 'Mind of Paul', pp. 110ff.

2. 'Eschatological Element', pp. 18ff..

Dodd's 'realised' interpretation of Paul's eschatology suffers no major set-back.

Convinced of the 'realised' nature of Paul's eschatology, Dodd ventured forth to explore the teaching of Jesus in the Gospels in the latter part of his article.¹ In this second part, Dodd explored the question of the relationship of the teaching of Jesus to those of the early church.² He saw Jesus as a man of his age, and that much of his thought fell into the forms of contemporary apocalyptic eschatology. But at the same time, Dodd acknowledged the possible exaggeration by the early church and the evangelists of the elements of contemporary eschatology in the sayings that they report.³ However, to Dodd, Jesus associated the destiny of the Kingdom of God with some decisive event which he expected in the relatively near future; though Jesus refused to give it an exact date. Thus in this early article on Jesus, Dodd did not quite fully develop a 'realised eschatology' for Jesus' teaching and preaching. He still seems to have allowed room for a futuristic aspect of Jesus' teaching, an aspect which he later on repudiated severely in his book The Parables of the Kingdom.

Initially, Dodd understands that much of Jesus' teaching may be regarded as 'transmuted eschatology' - 'as a philosophy of life fitted into eschatological categories which are nevertheless themselves profoundly modified by certain new principles which are of the essence of the teaching'.⁴

1. 'Eschatological Element', pp. 20ff.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

These are:

i. The general positive attitude of Jesus towards nature, life, and the world, overrides any world-negating aspect of his teaching. This would be in contrast to the attitudes of the books like Enoch and Baruch.

ii. Jewish eschatology with its emphasis on the vindictive judgement of God, his punishing of the evildoers, etc., is in contrast to Jesus' teaching which revealed the other aspects of the character of God, as a kind, merciful, and loving God.

iii. Jesus unlike the Jewish eschatologists did not speculate about the date of the end, nor was he interested in the 'signs of its approach, with the accompanying paraphernalia of cryptograms and hidden numbers. He indicated that the Kingdom of God cometh not with observation'.¹

iv. Jesus' teaching of the 'presence' already of the Kingdom of God, as indicated by his sayings² and parables,³ all points to the introduction into an eschatological context of an idea which must profoundly change that context.

v. Jesus' Parables of Growth, the Mustard Seed, and the Leaven, give an altogether new aspect to the hope of a consummated Kingdom of God in the future. Unlike what Jewish apocalyptists had anticipated, i.e. a sudden and catastrophic event, Jesus' teaching implied a slow/

1. 'Eschatological Element', p. 21.

2. Luke 11:19-20/Matt. 12:27-28; Mark 10:15/Luke 18:17; Luke 17:20-21.

3. Parables of the Hidden Treasure and of the Pearl.

slow stage of growth towards final consummation in the future. This teaching logically implied that 'history is a process which moves towards the final realisation of the divine purpose. If that is so, one would expect to find within the process some elements at least which are fully representative of the divine design and fully continuous with the divine event. Once again we have a "transmuted" eschatology'.¹

Dodd's early understanding of Jesus' eschatology as 'transmuted' was founded basically upon the fact that Jesus presented a scheme which strongly modified Jewish apocalyptic eschatology. Dodd, though he believed that Jesus' thought followed the forms of contemporary apocalyptic eschatology, yet at the same time without doubt clearly asserted that Jesus had presented new ideas which changed the contemporary eschatology of his time. Consequently Dodd classified Jesus' eschatological scheme, not as apocalyptic, but rather as 'transmuted eschatology'.²

Dodd's idea of a 'transmuted eschatology' in this early paper did not take much into consideration the focal point of E. von Dobschütz's thesis of 'transmuted eschatology', whereby he laid emphasis on the 'moral inwardness of the Kingdom of God' which could be experienced now, by those who believe and have trust in Jesus Christ. However, this aspect of von Dobschütz's thesis was evident in Dodd's later and fuller exposition of his 'realised eschatology'.

1. 'Eschatological Element', pp. 21-22.

2. 'Transmuted eschatology' was a phrase which was originally used by E. von Dobschütz to refer to Jesus' eschatology in his book The Eschatology of the Gospels, London, 1910. Von Dobschütz's views will be more thoroughly expounded in the next section on the predecessors of Dodd.

This earlier exposition of Jesus' eschatology by Dodd marked the initial stage of Dodd's movement towards his later position as fully expounded in his The Parables of the Kingdom. Here in this earlier paper, Dodd saw Jesus' scheme as different from the apocalyptic scheme; however, at the same time, he was prepared to acknowledge that Jesus associated the destiny of the Kingdom of God with some decisive event which he expected in the relatively near future. This earlier position was later modified by Dodd in his The Parables of the Kingdom, where Jesus was represented as teaching a fully 'realised' eschatology; the future aspect of Jesus' teaching was then interpreted as either references to the historical and political situations of the time, or as symbolical of the transcendent character of the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God has fully come through the events of the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus.

The conclusion that Dodd reached concerning Jesus' eschatology as a departure from Jewish apocalyptic and closer to what he termed 'transmuted eschatology' in his early paper could hardly escape the suspicion that it may have been a logical consequence of Dodd's interpretation of Paul's eschatological scheme. As with Paul's thought, the futuristic apocalyptic elements are treated as symbolical of the transcendent character of the eschaton. There is no future within this temporal world, except that when it has reached a certain maturity life passes to a higher plane.¹

1. G.H. Dodd, 'The This-Worldly Kingdom of God in our Lord's Teaching', Theology, vol. xiv, no. 83, 1927, p. 260. (Henceforth referred to as 'The This-Worldly Kingdom'.)

The two articles of Dodd on Paul published in 1927¹ both speak of the presence of the age to come in the present. The age of resurrection is here already and the process of resurrection has begun even for the living Christians. The fellowship of the Christian believers is such that it constitutes for them the life of the age to come. The gift of the Spirit, always to be expected in the future age, is now here, through the Lord who is the Spirit. In the article 'The Ethics of the Pauline Epistles', Dodd recognised the 'realised' nature of Pauline eschatology as basic to his understanding of ethics. For Paul, the coming of Christ, his life, his death, and his resurrection, provided a moral constraint upon all who knew him. Christians, therefore, now live their lives not in anticipation of the last judgement in the future, but in the very presence of the 'great white throne'. The vague outline of the holy judge in popular Jewish eschatology is for Paul filled by a vivid realisation of Christ as a concrete personality.²

Dodd's article 'The This-Worldly Kingdom' was Dodd's first attempt to investigate the nature of Jesus' teaching concerning the Kingdom of God. In keeping with the contemporary Jewish thought of the first century, namely the Jewish apocalypses, parts of the Qaddish and the Shemoneh esreh, and the rabbinic literature,³ Dodd understood the Kingdom of God/

1. 'The Meaning of Resurrection to Paul', in The Modern Churchman, vol. xvii, no. 9-10, 1927, pp. 581-587; 'The Ethics of the Pauline Epistles', in The Evolution of Ethics, ed. E.H. Sneath, Yale, 1927, pp. 293-326. (Henceforth referred to as 'Resurrection', and 'Ethics'.)

2. 'Ethics', p. 303.

3. 'The This-Worldly Kingdom', p. 258.

God in Jesus' teaching as indicating:

i. the moral and spiritual sovereignty of God which could be realised through a child-like attitude to God.¹ In this sense, the Kingdom of God could be a reality now through the life of obedience and faith to God;

ii. where the Kingdom of God is a thing of the future, the affinity of the teaching of Jesus is with the transcendent rather than with the political type of Jewish hope.

Though Dodd had not committed himself to regarding Jesus' teaching as fully 'realised' at this early stage, yet the movement of his thought in this paper indicated an early development of what he later developed fully in his book The Parables of the Kingdom. Dodd's brief investigation of the parables in this article enabled him to see Jesus' interest in the life of this world as being quite inconsistent with the world-denying attitude of the apocalyptic writers, as exemplified by 2 Baruch lxxxiii-lxxxv. Thus Dodd concluded that in Jesus' teaching the fact that the Kingdom of God in its consummation is 'other-worldly', does not exclude a real and recognisable reign of God in the world of nature and of man here and now. In fact, he interpreted Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom as a power at work in the present, a power which develops under historical conditions and continuously discloses itself.²

1. 'Eschatological Element', p. 21.

2. W.G. Kümmel, The New Testament, p. 384.

In 1932, Dodd published a commentary on Romans in which he pursued the same line of interpretation of Pauline eschatology as in his earlier writings. In his exegetical notes on Romans 1:16-17, Dodd emphatically points out that in Paul's religious vocabulary, the term 'righteousness' stands not only for a 'moral attribute', but also for an 'act' or 'activity'. When Paul therefore says, 'God's righteousness is revealed', he means that a divine act or activity is taking place manifestly within the field of human experience.¹ Paul's gospel is that 'the righteousness of God is revealed'. The age to come has come, and the great vindication of the righteous is taking place before our eyes. Dodd understands Paul's use of the present as indicating the continuous act of revealing.² So for Dodd, the revelation according to Paul is not yet complete, but it is real and even now in process.³

The apparent reference to the imminent coming of the parousia in Romans 13:11-14 has been treated by Dodd as independent from any such expectation. Instead, the eschatology here has become little more than 'an imaginative expression for the urgency which belongs to all moral effort when it is thought of in relation to the eternal issues of life. The Christian is perpetually faced by a crisis with the other world/

1. G.H. Dodd, Romans, p. 10.

2. Ibid., pp. 12-13. Cf. also with Romans 3:21.

3. Perhaps the term suggested by G. Florovsky and later reasserted by J.A.T. Robinson of 'inaugurated eschatology', or Jeremias' 'sich realisierende Eschatologie' is most suitable, since such terms indicate that the eschaton is here already through Jesus' first coming though it is yet to be fully completed.

world pressing disturbingly into this one'.¹

Dodd's article 'The Message of the Epistles: Ephesians',² published in 1933, fits in with Dodd's interpretation of Paul's mature thoughts in his later epistles. The Epistle to the Ephesians declares the gospel to be a revealed mystery, an open secret set in the framework of thanksgiving and prayer.³ The final issue of God's glorious purpose lies beyond man and his world. The climax of the spiritual blessings is that God has made known to us his will, to sum up all things in Christ, things in heaven and things on earth (Eph. 1:9-10).⁴ Here, Paul sees God's will and purpose being realised now, though the final consummation of his purpose is yet to be fulfilled, not within this realm but in the transcendent world beyond. Christ has indeed put the powers under his feet, but for Christians there are still active enemies to be encountered. The conflicts in which he is involved are part of the process through which the universe is being brought into the unity and peace of the Kingdom of God.⁵

Two articles of Dodd which appeared in 1934⁶ are a significant step towards his realised exposition of eschatology. In 'God in Christ',/

1. Dodd, Romans, pp. 209-210.

2. C.H. Dodd, 'The Message of the Epistles: Ephesians', Expository Times vol. xlv, 1933, pp. 60-66. (Henceforth referred to as 'Ephesians'.) NB. Dodd is inclined to accept the Pauline authorship of Ephesians, though not without misgivings.

3. Ibid., p. 61.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p. 66.

6. C.H. Dodd, 'God in Christ', in Expository Times vol. xlvi, no. 3, 1934, pp. 114-117; 'Mind of Paul ii'.

Christ', Dodd again indicates the 'presentness' of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus. He writes, 'the burden of the teaching of Jesus is given in the saying, the Kingdom of God has come upon you'.¹ According to Dodd, it is impossible to whittle that down into any merely evolutionary idea of a gradually improving state of society instead of the Kingdom of God. Rather, it means that the 'great God above us, whose is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, has descended upon his world in grace and judgement'.² It is through this revelation that the Kingdom of God comes upon us. Perhaps it is all too easy for Dodd to say this, who, like Paul, interprets Jesus' words and utterances in the light of his post-resurrection experience; however, whether these utterances were thus originally meant by the speaker before the crucial event is yet another question.

In his article 'The Mind of Paul ii', Dodd noted an eschatological development within the Pauline epistles; from that of future-apocalyptic eschatology to that of 'realised eschatology'.³ A similar development of Paul's thought had been suggested by Otto Pfleiderer and R.H. Charles.⁴ Otto Pfleiderer saw a development from 1 Thessalonians 4, through 1 Corinthians 15 to 2 Corinthians 5, i.e. from a Jewish eschatological/

1. 'God in Christ', p. 116.

2. Ibid., p. 117.

3. 'The Mind of Paul ii', in New Testament Studies, pp. 109ff., cf. A. Schweitzer's development of Pauline eschatology from that of apocalyptic eschatology to Pauline mysticism (Mysticism, pp. 96ff.; note also earlier references to Schweitzer's eschatological system, pp. 5-7).

4. Otto Pfleiderer, Paulinism, London, 1891; R.H. Charles, Eschatology, Oxford, 1913, pp. 437-461; E.E. Ellis, Paul, pp. 25-26.

eschatological system to something more of Hellenistic dualism. R.H. Charles divided the Pauline eschatology into four stages, each represented by different epistles: (i) 1 and 2 Thessalonians, (ii) 1 Corinthians, (iii) 2 Corinthians and Romans, (iv) Philipians and Colossians. The central point in Charles' system is the assertion that there is a major turning-point in Paul's eschatological development about the time of 2 Corinthians. Dodd finds an identical pattern of development.¹

According to Dodd, the initial eschatological standpoint of Paul is to be witnessed in his earlier epistles, namely 1 and 2 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians. Here in these epistles the emphasis is, like that of Jewish apocalyptic, upon the proximity of the end. This emphasis on the imminent end is said to have gradually subsided as Paul continued to experience the delay of the impending end. His confident expectation slowly diminished as he himself contemplated death before the parousia. Dodd observed that Paul's manner of expression changed at the time of the writing of 2 Corinthians. While still earnest, Paul abandoned the cosmic-catastrophic language of Jewish apocalyptic after personal threats to his own life forced him to come to terms with real life. For Dodd, Paul's mature thought looked to the beyond rather than to the future, and the language that he employed served the practical purposes of his ministry.² In 2 Corinthians 5:1ff., Paul faces the reality of/

1. E.E. Ellis suggested that Dodd in reaction against A. Schweitzer used O. Pfleiderer's thesis in order to explain away the presence of futuristic statements of Paul (op.cit., p. 32).

2. Apostolic Preaching, p. 85.

of the problem that some of the Christians will not be able to live long enough to witness the consummation of the parousia, but there must be nothing to fear, since, although the outward self is decaying, the inward self is being renewed and eternally clothed (2 Cor. 5:4f.). For Dodd, 2 Corinthians represents the turning point for Paul's original emphasis on the imminent coming of the parousia. It is the watershed of Paul's eschatological development.

In the later epistles, Romans and the Captivity Epistles, Dodd suggests that no appeal is made by Paul to the idea of the imminent advent.¹ Rather, in these subsequent epistles the thought of the imminence of the advent fades into the background as the eschatological expectation becomes subordinated to the present reality of the life of the new age.²

In the light of Dodd's suggested development of Pauline eschatology, the ethical functions of Paul's eschatological statements may be discussed. In these letters, the imminent eschatological statements have become the controlling principle in Paul's ethical teaching. The emphasis is on the proximity of the end, and consequently Pauline ethics are likewise conditioned by this imminent future. Like apocalyptic/

1. For Dodd's explanation of the future eschatological statements in Paul's later epistles, see: 'Mind of Paul ii', pp. 111-112; also Romans, pp. 208-211.
2. For criticisms of such general development in Pauline eschatology, see: N.Q. Hamilton, 'The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul', Scottish Journal of Theology, Occasional Papers, no. 6, Edinburgh, 1957, pp. 53-70; J.S. Mbiti, New Testament Eschatology in an African Background, Oxford, 1971, p. 44; For Mbiti, 'it is difficult to find such a precise time for the changeover as Dodd advocates'.

apocalyptic eschatology with its emphasis on the imminent eschaton and the consequent radical devaluation of the present world order and all its aspects, these early Pauline epistles likewise reflect a similar depreciation of the present order. According to Dodd, the whole discussion of the ethical problem here is controlled by the maxim, 'the time is short and the fashion of the world is passing away'.¹ Accordingly, the statements about a consummation in the imminent future in these epistles do have ethical functions to perform within the context in which they are used. Undoubtedly the eschatological statements found in 1 Corinthians 6:1-8; 7:25-35; 1 Thessalonians 4:13-5:23; do function as an encouragement to Christians to live their lives morally and in constant awareness of the temporariness of the world and their existence, in anticipation of the impending future. These futuristic eschatological statements provide an incentive to the early Christians to detach themselves from all earthly and temporal concerns and concentrate their efforts on the things of eternal value which will remain when the parousia comes in the very near future. In 1 and 2 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians Dodd sees that Paul's initial eschatological standpoint is controlling his outlook of the world and life. In these epistles, Paul could hardly see any positive value in human institutions, since their values are only temporary, and especially in view of the imminent parousia, Christians' prime concern should be focussed upon things whose values are lasting and eternal. In 1 Corinthians 7:25-35, Paul's eschatological statements provide a/

1. 'Mind of Paul', p. 113.

a strong ethical sanction for the Christians to concentrate their efforts on the qualities that remain when the Lord comes again. In 1 Thessalonians 4:15-5:23, the thought of the imminent coming of the Lord becomes an incentive to pure ethical and moral living; to remain as sons of light but not of darkness; to be awake and not asleep; to be sober and not drunk; to live in faith, love, and hope. The certainty of the nearness of the parousia, and of the consequent resurrection of the faithful (1 Thess. 4:16-18) when the Lord comes, provides comfort and ethical encouragement for the Christians as they await the Second Coming of their Lord.

At the turning point of Paul's eschatological development, Dodd recognises a corresponding change in Paul's ethical teaching. The intense, urgent, and almost excited tone of his earlier epistles with their world-negating ethic of detachment from the temporal world in view of its passing state is already gradually fading out in the earlier epistles. The sharp distinction between 'the things of the Lord', and 'the things of the world' has begun to wear thin.¹ According to Dodd, 2 Corinthians represents the watershed in Paul's eschatological development and correspondingly in his ethical teaching. Dodd understands the stern dualism of 2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1 as showing evidence of the new valuation of the world which goes along with Paul's revision of eschatology.²

1. 'Mind of Paul ii', p. 114.

2. Ibid., p. 115. NB. It is worth noting that 2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1, is widely considered to be an interpolation. This could in fact weaken Dodd's suggestion of a turning point in 2 Corinthians of Paul's eschatological development as well as his ethical teaching.

In Romans, Dodd suggests that the passage 13:11-14 lacks the urgent and excited tone of a similar passage in the earlier epistles, 1 Thessalonians 5:1-11. In the earlier epistle the tone is one of intense, almost excited, urgency: at any moment the Lord will be here. However in Romans the tone is that of an earnest preacher, but not that of the herald of an imminent catastrophe.¹ Throughout Romans no appeal is made to the thought of the imminent advent. Instead we have a greater emphasis than ever before upon the idea that the Christian, having died and risen with Christ, is already living the life of the new age (Rom. 6:1-11; 8:9-11). The consummation indeed is still awaited, but awaited without urgency, because the substance of our hope is a present possession (Rom. 8:18-39).² The reference in Philippians 4:5 to the proximity of the day of the Lord has been considered by Dodd as belonging not to the category of Paul's imminent future eschatological statements, but as an echo of Psalm 145:18.³

Following from Dodd's exposition of the development of Paul's eschatology, three possible conclusions can be drawn as concerning the ethical functions of Paul's eschatological statements in his epistles.

1. The statements concerning the nearness of the parousia determine the Christian's evaluation of the present world (1 Cor. 7:29-31). They call Christians to subordinate their concerns for, and/

1. 'Mind of Paul ii', p. 111.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 112.

and obligations to, the things of this world, values of human institutions, social and political, because they are only provisional and temporary, to those qualities and values which are permanent and eternal.¹ The sense of transience, the sense of living at a critical moment when nothing can be guaranteed as permanent, has here come to provide a motive for moral earnestness and a sober sense of responsibility.²

ii. In view of the nearness of the parousia, Paul uses the imminent eschatological statements as an incentive for early Christians to strive for moral and ethically sound lives, knowing that it will not be long before their Lord will come again (1 Thess. 5:1-23; Rom. 13:11-14; 1 Cor. 6:1-11). The thought of being close to the final fulfilment of their salvation serves as a strong ethical motive for Christians to walk according to the light, to be sober, and to live in love, hope, and faith (1 Thess. 5:5ff.), to abstain from drunkenness, debauchery, licentiousness, quarrelling, and jealousy (Rom. 13:11-14). For Paul, the future status of these Christians should be the determining factor of their present conduct.

iii. Following on from his view of Paul's eschatological development, Dodd suggests that the ethical motivation for Paul's ethical exhortation in the later epistles, namely 2 Corinthians, Romans, and the Captivity Epistles, is directly derived from Paul's understanding of the present significance of the events of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection. Instead of a life geared mainly towards an impatient/

1. W. Schrage, Z.T.K. lxi, 1964, pp. 125-154.

2. G.H. Dodd, Gospel and Law, Cambridge, 1951, p. 30.

impatient expectation of the future, Dodd finds in the Christ-mysticism of Paul (Romans 5:5; Phil. 2:3; Gal. 5:20) the possibility of living the new life now, rooted in close communion with the risen Christ. Because of this, Dodd could say that it is 'in the epistles of Paul that full justice is done for the first time to the principles of "realised eschatology", which is vital to the whole kerygma'.¹ The consequences of this already realised event is that 'the heights and depths of the moral possibilities of human nature are laid bare'.² This opening up of moral possibilities is the recognition that an unattainable ideal lays infinite obligation upon us; that the best we can do lies under the judgement of God; but the judgement of God carries forgiveness with it. It is in this sense among others, according to Dodd, that Paul describes the Christian life as a new creation. This new order of relationship between God and man, brought about by the Christ event, gives Christian ethics its new character.

G.H. Dodd's Interpretation of Time and History

Before dealing with Dodd's book The Parables of the Kingdom, where he fully expounded his thesis of 'realised eschatology', it is important first of all to try to understand Dodd's interpretation of time and history, which is of crucial importance to an understanding of/

1. Apostolic Preaching, p. 154.
2. Gospel and Law, p. 32.

of his eschatology. F.W. Dillistone has pointed out that it is important to see the tension in Dodd's mind between the Greek and Hellenistic understanding of history and the view of the end, and the Hebrew understanding, and perhaps by an understanding of this tension one can come to understand and appreciate the somewhat one-sided, and controversial, viewpoint of the scholar.

Dodd affirms again and again that Christianity is an historical religion. Unlike the mystical and nature religions which treat history as irrelevant, the Jewish and Christian religions accept the non-recurrent particularity of events. Dodd offers an interpretation of history in his article 'The Eschatological Element in the New Testament and its Permanent Significance'.¹ He indicates that some but not many have simply accepted the flux of events as an unintelligible succession of momentary states possessing no unity or meaning beyond themselves. Others admit the flux and constant change, as well as the reality of the phenomena; but the succession of different states and the entire series of phenomena is not devoid of meaning. This view of history, or of the succession of phenomena or events, may be further subdivided: history may be conceived as moving gradually in an evolutionary process to a conclusion, or it may be thought of as suddenly coming to an end. According to the first view, there is a gradual improvement leading to a consummation. The other envisages history as coming to a sudden and unexpected end, at which time the meaning of the entire process will be fully revealed. Dodd calls this the eschatological philosophy of/

1. Dodd, 'Eschatological Element', pp. 14-24.

of history, while the first, which interprets history as progress, may be called the evolutionary view.

According to Dodd, different religions adopt one or the other of the above mentioned interpretations of history.¹ A mystical type of religion denies the reality of history, or at best it considers history as irrelevant. The end of the individual soul or spirit is to be united with Absolute Being, the one unchanging reality. Nature religion on the other hand, accepts the reality of the external, physical world, and considers it as a medium of divinity. In contrast to these types of religion, Dodd indicated that both the Jewish and Christian religions accept the non-recurrent particularity of events, and see in them the vehicle of God's revelation of himself and his purpose for mankind.² Dodd does not deny that the Christian religion, which was prepared and heralded by the Jewish religion, finds God in the world of nature (Romans 1:20), nor would he deny that a mystical type of revelation is possible in the Christian religion (2 Cor. 4:18; John 17:3, 22-23), but the Jewish and Christian religions, characterised by the importance which they attach to their written heritage, consider history as the primary field of divine action and hence of divine revelation. According to Dodd, in certain sense it is true that God's action may be discovered in any event in history, but this is not what is meant by the affirmation, 'God reveals himself in history'. For Dodd, some/

1. C.H. Dodd, History, pp. 19-25.

2. E.E. Wolfzorn, op.cit., p. 47.

some events are more significant than others. Christianity recognises the actual existence of one particular event of this sort in history. This one unique, unrepeatable, fully revelatory action of God is the life and death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The supreme self-revealing action of God has become an actual part of the process of history, while at the same time being beyond and yet giving meaning to that process. God's revelation of himself transcends history, and cannot be contained by history, but it is nonetheless really and truly historical.

Both the prophetic and apocalyptic writers see God's purpose in the events of history, but they also look forward to the Day of the Lord, the end of history when his purpose will be fully revealed. Behind the manifold events is the ever-present purpose of God controlling the series and shaping history. The disasters that befell the Jewish people after their return from the exile led the apocalyptic writers to look more eagerly for the dénouement of history in the Day of the Lord. It is Dodd's opinion that the apocalyptic writers lost sight of the relation between the preceding events of history and the final supreme event that gives to history its full meaning. He agrees, though, that this Day of the Lord brings history to its fulfilment; however, not in the sense that history as we know it will come to an absolute end, but in the sense that God's purpose is fully revealed and made manifest.

Although from one point of view the eschaton is within the time series, from another point of view it is outside time and space. Thus Dodd maintains that the eschaton is an historical event, and yet at the same time it is not an event at all.¹ Dodd maintains the reality of/

1. Apostolic Preaching, pp. 80-81.

of time with its succession of events, but he would deny that history is progressing towards a goal that will be achieved with the temporal cessation of the succession of events. For Dodd, Christianity considers the ultimate end to history as other than the temporal end of the process.¹ As such, the very meaning of eschatology is thus transformed by Dodd's suggestion. 'Eschaton' no longer means 'the last point in time', but the 'ultimate point of value'.² The one event that gives meaning to all others has entered once and for all into the historical process. We need not wait for the end of time to discover the meaning of history, because in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, God's purpose for all history is fully revealed. The Kingdom of God has been established.

The transformation of the meaning of the term 'eschatology' or 'eschaton' by Dodd from that which it originally had in Jewish circles as a 'temporal end' or the 'last point in time', to an 'ultimate point of value' suggests a Platonic influence in Dodd's understanding of the significance of Jesus' event to history. In Jesus' first coming, Dodd sees the metaphysical or the beyond penetrating into the temporal world, thus giving history its ultimate meaning. This idea of the metaphysical entering the physical world could easily be assimilated to the ideas of Plato. Thus it seems most likely that Dodd's understanding of eschatology reflects an influence of Platonic ideas upon eschatology as understood in Jewish circles. In an attempt to understand the significance and meaning of the unique events of Jesus' coming, his/

1. Dodd, History, p. 165.

2. Dodd, Parables, pp. 106f.; F.F. Bruce, op.cit., p. 242.

his ministry, death, and resurrection, Dodd had seen them in the light of their ultimate value which gives meaning to history. Dodd by no means denies the validity of the event, but at the same time he sees it not as an 'end event' in a chronological series of events because history still continues, but rather as an 'ultimate end in value', from which history, past, present, and future is to be fully understood. Development of history towards a defined goal temporally in the future, which was popular in Jewish and apocalyptic understanding of eschatology, has become insignificant to Dodd. In Dodd's interpretation, apocalyptic elements are disposed of by re-interpreting eschatology in terms of the absolute or supernatural rather than the temporal, i.e. by indicating that the apocalyptic elements implying the future end are symbolic of the transcendent and the metaphysical character of eschatology which already is present through the events of Jesus Christ. 'Eschatology is not itself the substance of the Gospel, but a form under which the absolute value of the Gospel facts is asserted'.¹ In describing redemption, 'ultimate' and 'eschatological' are used synonymously.² 'All these are "eschatological" in character; they are ultimates, and are proper not to this empirical realm of time and space, but to the absolute order.'³ With this non-temporal eschatology it becomes possible to escape time altogether. For Dodd, eschatology expresses itself in history not as a/

1. Apostolic Preaching, p. 42.

2. Ibid., p. 43.

3. Parables, p. 107.

a real goal at a future point in time, but as the continual working out of God's purpose. In Christianity the ultimate end is other than the temporal end of the process, by which is meant that 'the event of Christ's first coming, his ministry, death and resurrection give meaning and purpose to all history without any future goal being necessary'.¹ As such the cross then for Dodd is not the centre of history but its ultimate end, but not in a temporal sense. This fits well with his summary of the meaning of history; 'history, therefore, as a process of redemption and revelation, has a beginning and an end, both in God. The beginning is not an event in time; the end is not an event in time. The beginning is God's purpose, the end is the fulfilment of his purpose'.²

The Platonic conception of the relation of God to history and a Platonic conception of time were no doubt implicit in Dodd's re-interpretation of the traditional idea of eschatology. As with Plato, history is for Dodd the incomplete and imperfect striving of this world of time and space after the transcendent absolutes of eternity.³ In Christian terms, this absolute becomes the Kingdom which entered history, and continues to challenge and guide history, but without ever becoming a part of history. Because of this absolute nature of the Kingdom, Jesus 'could not ally himself with any of the historical movements of his time' since he was 'the bearer of a Kingdom which is altogether other/

1. Dodd, History, p. 165.

2. Ibid., p. 171.

3. N.Q. Hamilton, op.cit., p. 59.

other than the relativities of human existence'.¹

Dodd understands Paul, John, and the author of Hebrews as all making use of the Platonic systems in understanding eschatology. According to Dodd, the ultimate reality, instead of being the last term in the historical series, is conceived as an eternal order of being, of which the phenomenal order of history is the shadow or symbol. Thus in this sense, Dodd was able to explain any futuristic sayings of Jesus or Paul as symbolical only of the transcendent character of the eternal order already brought by Jesus Christ in his first coming. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, eschatology has been reinterpreted in terms of a Platonic scheme. The 'age to come' is identified with that order of eternal reality whose shadows or reflections form the world of phenomena.²

It seems almost certain that there are two possible strands of interpretation in Dodd's understanding, not only of Jesus' eschatology, but also of Paul's, and of the New Testament's eschatology generally. There is the realistic strand (sometimes referred to as the historical or biblical strand), there is also the idealistic one, which is Platonic and metaphysical. This second strand, as previously pointed out, refers to the ultimate reality, instead of being, as in Jewish apocalyptic, figured as the last term in the historical series; it is conceived of as an eternal order of being, of which the phenomenal order in history is the shadow or symbol.³ History is very important in Dodd's/

1. History, p. 128.

2. Apostolic Preaching, p. 45.

3. Ibid., p. 66.

Dodd's interpretation of the New Testament generally, but his realistic view of history is sharply penetrated by an idealistic view of history gained from Plato. This idealism makes significant inroads into Dodd's interpretation of the New Testament and especially into his understanding of the eschatology of Jesus and Paul.

The Parables of the Kingdom

The publication of Dodd's work on The Parables of the Kingdom in 1935 marked a major step in Dodd's exposition of New Testament eschatology. Here in this book Dodd clearly spelt out his position on Jesus' teaching and preaching. His interpretation of Jesus' eschatology has aroused much interest and response from New Testament scholars, not only here in Britain, but from all over the Continent and North America. In the book The Parables of the Kingdom, Dodd undertook to demonstrate in detail that Jesus proclaimed the Kingdom of God as a reality of the present, and that the eschatological predictions were really symbolic in character, and expressed the supra-temporal significance of the divine events which became manifest in Jesus. The predictions of the end of the age that are contained in the Gospels must then have originated in a misunderstanding on the part of the early church.¹

The words in which Jesus' Galilean preaching is summarised in Mark 1:15, 'The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand/

1. Dodd, Parables, pp. 49-51, 97, 107-109, 174, 193; see also W.G. Kümmel, *op.cit.*, p. 384.

hand; repent and believe in the Gospel', (R.S.V.) are interpreted by Dodd as an explicit announcement that the Kingdom of God has arrived. Dodd's exposition of the terms ἤγγικεν and ἐφθασεν in Mark 1:15; 9:1; Matthew 12:28 / Luke 11:20; 10:11; is a very significant development of his 'realised eschatology'. The Greek verb translated 'is at hand' is ἤγγικεν, the perfect tense of ἔγγιζω; a literal translation would be 'has approached' or 'has drawn near'. Dodd translates ἤγγικεν 'has arrived'. (It is interesting to note that despite Dodd's position of influence as a General Director of the New English Bible, that version does not make Jesus say in Mark 1:15, 'the Kingdom of God has arrived' but 'the Kingdom of God is upon you'.) Dodd insisted in his exposition that ἤγγικεν and ἐφθασεν are to be translated 'has come'.¹ Dodd bases his argument on the fact that ἐγγίσειν is sometimes used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew naga' and the Aramaic mta', both of which Dodd maintains mean 'to arrive'. (naga' in Jonah 3:6; Jer. 28:9; Psalms 31:6; 106:18; mta' Daniel 4:8, 19.)² Another of Dodd's arguments for translating Mark 1:15 in this manner is that in the parallel statement of Jesus in Matthew 12:28, and Luke 11:20, 'the Kingdom of God has come upon you', the Greek verb is ἐφθασεν, the aorist tense of φθάνω, which does most probably imply that it has already arrived. Thus it follows that Jesus proclaimed from the/

1. G.H. Dodd, 'The This-Worldly Kingdom', p. 259; 'The Kingdom of God Has Come', in the Expository Times 48, 1936-1937, pp. 138-142. (Henceforth referred to as 'The Kingdom'); Parables, pp. 44f.
2. Dodd, 'The Kingdom', pp. 140ff.; Parables, p. 44.

the beginning of his Galilean ministry onwards that the long-expected Kingdom of God has now come, and pointed to his own activity in expelling demons as evidence of this fact. Even when he said to his disciples 'there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the Kingdom of God come with power' (Mark 9:1), for Dodd, Jesus meant that some of his hearers would realise before their death that the Kingdom of God has come effectively in his own ministry. The word here translated 'come' is ἐληλυθεν, perfect participle of the common verb meaning 'come'. The correct translation of these controversial verses has been the subject of much dispute among biblical scholars.¹

1. Those who support C.H. Dodd's translation include: M. Black, 'The Kingdom of God Has Come', Expository Times lxxiii, 1951-1952, pp. 289ff.; A.T. Cadoux, The Theology of Jesus, London, 1940, p. 46; G.S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, London, 1947, pp. 41f.; M.J. Lagrange, S. Marc, Paris, 1942, pp. 16f. (Lagrange translates ἤγγικεν as verb proche; but he supports est arrivé); H. Preisker, T.W.N.T. ii, pp. 329-332; E. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, Göttingen, 1959 (original 1937), p. 30. (Lohmeyer indicated that the German translation of ἤγγικεν as 'ist genaht' in Mark 1:15 should mean 'jetzt eingetretene'); all these scholars give the same translation of ἤγγικεν as Dodd. Dodd's exposition was strongly contested by J.Y. Campbell and also by J.M. Creed, Expository Times xlvi, 1936-1937, pp. 91-94; Expository Times xlvi, 1936-1937, pp. 184f.; W.R. Hutton, Expository Times lxiv, 1952-1953, pp. 89-91 supports J.Y. Campbell against C.H. Dodd; others include K. Clark, 'Realised Eschatology' in Journal of Biblical Literature lix, 1940, pp. 367-383; R. Fuller, The Mission and Achievement of Jesus, London, 1955, p. 21; V. Taylor, The Gospel according to St. Mark, London, 1952; V. Taylor, though he supports J.Y. Campbell's translation, yet does not insist on it and therefore concludes that the translation 'has come' or 'has arrived' may be possible. V. Taylor maintains that the difference is really not that important for understanding the eschatological message of Jesus, because in any case Jesus believed the Kingdom of God to be present in himself and in his ministry. W.G. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, London, 1957, pp. 106-107, and G.C. McCown, 'Jesus, Son of Man', in the Journal of Religion lix, 1948, p. 7, accept Campbell's argument against Dodd/

1. (contd.) Dodd concerning ἐγγίσειν but agree with most authors in translating ἐφθασεν as 'has come'. Kummel points out that φθάνειν is not found elsewhere in the Gospels, although in the rest of the New Testament its meaning is clearly 'has arrived' when the aorist is used (e.g. Romans 9:31; 2 Cor. 10:14; 1 Thess. 2:16; Phil. 3:16) with the exception of 1 Thessalonians 4:15 where the meaning is 'may precede'. Thus, perhaps one may conclude then that ἐφθασεν certainly means 'has come', while it is only possible that ἤγγικεν may be translated 'has come'.

Dodd's development of his 'realised eschatology' involves a systematic elimination of any futuristic elements from the eschatological pronouncements of Jesus in the Gospels. A statement like Mk 1:15 which might imply that the Kingdom of God would come in the future has been reinterpreted by philological arguments so as to eliminate the future element in this saying of Jesus. However, when this is impossible, Dodd resolves the problem by reinterpreting what Jesus really meant when he uses the future. This method of Dodd which he employs fully in his book The Parables of the Kingdom, to explain some of the texts,¹ had been mentioned earlier in his articles, 'Eschatological Elements', and 'The This-Worldly Kingdom'. In these texts, according to Dodd, the future tense is not future at all. It is merely a stylistic device used by Jesus to convey the essentially timeless and transcendent nature of the Kingdom of God which has already arrived with the historical event of his ministry. Writing of the futuristic elements in the thought of Jesus, Dodd claims that these future tenses are only an accommodation of language. There is no coming of the Son of Man after his coming in Galilee and Jerusalem, whether sooner or later, for there is no before or after in the eternal order. The Kingdom of God in its full reality is not something which will happen after all other things have happened. It is that to which men awake when this order of space and time no longer limits their/

1. Matt. 8:11/Luke 13:28-29; Matt. 10:15/Luke 10:12; Matt. 10:32-33/
 Luke 12:8-9; Matt. 11:21-22/Luke 10:13-14; Matt. 12:41-42/Luke 11:31-32;
 Matt. 19:28/Luke 22:28-30; Matt. 24:37-39/Luke 17:26-27; Matt. 24:40/
 Luke 17:34-35; Matt. 26:29/Luke 22:18; Mark 8:38; 13:24-27; 14:25.

their vision.¹ This idea of an otherwise transcendent character of the Kingdom of God was first presented by Dodd in relation to Jesus' teaching as early as 1927,² in which he stated that the eschatological order brought by the coming of Jesus is a process which is not finished within this historical order. However, when it reached a certain maturity, life passed to a higher plane. Dodd at this earlier stage of development holds the idea of a 'progressive revelation' of the Kingdom of God within the historical order. The process, however, is not finished within this order, but at its conclusion life moves on in another sphere.

Against this concept of Dodd, R.N. Flew argues that we have no evidence that any of the sayings of Jesus implies that God's eternal order was beyond time.³ N. Perrin concludes his discussion of Dodd by saying that 'there is not to be found in Palestinian Judaism at the same time as Jesus any real evidence of a belief in a state of salvation to be experienced in a transcendent realm beyond time and space. In fact there is no indication whatsoever in the teaching of Jesus that he was introducing a new conception radically different from those of his contemporaries, and thus this aspect of Dodd's "realised eschatology" is to be rejected'.⁴

Dodd's interpretation of Jesus' eschatological proclamation, with its emphasis on the presentness of the Kingdom of God, is again seen in/

1. Parables, pp. 108f.

2. 'The This-Worldly Kingdom', p. 260.

3. R.N. Flew, Jesus and His Church, London, 1938, p. 44, n. 1.

4. N. Perrin, Kingdom of God, pp. 69-73.

in his exposition of the eschatological character of the apostolic preaching of the primitive Church. For Dodd, the apostolic preaching of the primitive Church has a very strong eschatological setting. Its terms were borrowed from the traditional eschatology of Judaism. But it differed from all earlier prophecy and apocalyptic by declaring that the eschatological process was already in being.¹ The significance given to the events of the death and resurrection of Christ has disrupted the Jewish scheme of eschatology. As for the apocalyptists, so for the primitive Christians the eschaton was the breaking in of the supra-historical order, a new creation. The fundamental change comes in the fact that whereas 'Jewish eschatology looks to the close of the historical process as the necessary fulfilment upon which the meaning of history depends, Christianity finds the fulfilment of history in an actual series of events within history, namely the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the true eschaton; the event in which its meaning is conclusively revealed has now become an object of experience'.² It is one thing to believe that at long last the Lord will come, and to have recourse to pure fantasy for a picture of his coming, it is another thing to believe that the Lord has come, and that whatever may be the final issue of history, it can do no more than unfold the meaning already given in his historical coming. Hope of the unknown takes form and character/

1. Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 77.

2. C.H. Dodd, The Kingdom of God and History, London, 1938, pp. 23-24. (Henceforth referred to as Kingdom and History.)

character from what is already known. Thus the Christian vision of the future depends upon experience of actual historical events. The Gospels declare that within history an event has happened in which the whole purpose of God is fulfilled. That which is beyond history has entered into history. For Dodd, the simple time scheme of the old traditional eschatology can no longer suffice. There is in history something other than a movement in time towards a goal which will be the end of history.¹

Dodd's thesis clearly elevates eschatological interpretation beyond the concept of a historical process with its anticipated culmination in the events of the parousia which will occur within the limitation of time and space. This eschatological interpretation has departed decisively from early Jewish apocalyptic expectation which is the basis of 'consistent' eschatological interpretation of Jesus. For Dodd, the apocalyptic symbolism of the Old Testament recurs freely in the New Testament² but with a profound difference. The divine event originally anticipated is declared to have happened - the eschaton has entered history, the hidden rule of God has been revealed, and the age to come has come. Therefore, the Gospel of primitive Christianity is a Gospel of 'realised eschatology'.³

1. Ibid., p. 25; see also section on Dodd's interpretation of Time and History (pp. 49ff).
2. Matt. 12:28; Acts 2:16; 2 Cor. 5:17; Col. 1:13; 2 Cor. 3:18; Titus 3:5; Heb. 6:5; 1 Peter 1:23; John 2:8.
3. G.H. Dodd, 'Eschatological Element', p. 17; Apostolic Preaching, pp. 155f., pp. 209f.

As previously indicated, Dodd understands the early New Testament eschatologists as making use of the categories of Hellenistic thought to express the absoluteness of the revelation in Christ, but at the same time he sees that none of them leaves the ground of the Hebraic faith in a God who acts and controls the course of history. Therefore the unique event of Christ's coming in history provides meaning and significance to history. Consequently, the New Testament eschatologists understand the eschaton as no longer the last term in a temporal series, but the 'qualitatively final or ultimate entering into the midst of history in a decisive crisis by which the meaning of the whole is determined'.¹ The eschaton to Dodd is not an event in time, but rather a stage in a process which transcends time and space. Platonism undoubtedly underlies Dodd's thoughts.²

Dodd, having already dealt with some of the futuristic statements of Jesus in the Gospels by referring to them as symbolic only of the timeless and transcendent character of the Kingdom of God, still has to explain more futuristic sayings, attributed to Jesus in the Gospels. These texts include predictions of Jesus concerning the sufferings he and his followers will have to endure,³ as well as the impending disasters/

1. C.H. Dodd, Kingdom and History, pp. 31-32. Cp. with R. Bultmann's qualitative reinterpretation of eschatology; see 'History and Eschatology', in New Testament Studies, vol. i, 1954-1955, p. 7f; 'New Testament and Mythology', in Kerygma and Myth, ed. by H.W. Bartsch, London, 1953, pp. 1-16.
2. O. Cullmann, Salvation and History, London, 1967, pp. 34, 204; E. Käsemann, New Testament Questions of Today, London, 1969, p. 16; B. Rigaux, Letters of Paul, Chicago, 1968, p. 135; W.D. Davies defends Dodd in his book Rabbinic Judaism, p. 320.
3. Matt. 10:17-22; 10:30; / Luke 14:27; Matt. 16:24; Mark 8:34; 10:35-40; 13:9-23; Luke 12:11f.

disasters that are to befall the Jewish people, the city of Jerusalem and the Temple.¹ For Dodd, these predictions fall within the historical order, although they were not always so understood by the primitive church. Often they were read in the light of late Jewish apocalyptic and thus given an unwarranted apocalyptic character.²

After dealing with all non-parabolic statements of Jesus which imply a futuristic expectation, Dodd finally turns to the parables of Jesus as a final confirmation of his 'realised exposition' of the teaching of Jesus. In determining the original meaning of the parables, Dodd acknowledges his indebtedness to A.T. Cadoux who attempted to establish the particular settings in which the parables were delivered by Jesus.³ Cadoux disagrees with Jülicher who judges the parables to be vehicles of a general moral teaching proposed by Jesus. Such an interpretation ignores the specific content of the parables, the Kingdom of God. Dodd, however, surpasses Cadoux because he finds the application suggested by him often too 'flat and general'.⁴ In all the parables, Dodd finds their specific content to be the eschatological Kingdom of God, as realised in the coming of Jesus. It is that fact that Jesus proclaims by his parables. They find an application in his present ministry, that the Kingdom of God has come.⁵ The/

1. Matt. 23:34-36/Luke 11:49-51; Matt. 23:37-38/Luke 13:34-35; Luke 13:1-5.

2. . Dodd, Parables, pp. 56-67; E.E. Wolfzorn, op.cit., p. 56.

3. A.T. Cadoux, The Parables of Jesus, Their Art and Use, New York, 1931; Dodd, Parables, pp. 23, 26.

4. Ibid., p. 87.

5. Ibid., pp. 174, 193.

The futuristic aspects of the Kingdom implied in some of the parables¹ are explained by Dodd as due to the influence of the early Church. When the early Church saw that Jesus was not coming to establish the Kingdom of God in the manner it expected, it therefore reinterpreted the parables as eschatological appeals for early Christians to remain constantly moral and in a state of preparedness for the sudden and unexpected appearance of the end. Jesus would come to establish the Kingdom, yes, but after an indefinite interval of time. The early Church contemplated a sudden event for which they should be prepared and vigilant.

C.H. Dodd's exposition of Jesus' teaching and preaching emphasises the final presence and realised character of Jesus' eschatological scheme. The Kingdom of God has come in the historical life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. According to Dodd, Jesus was aware of this fact in his ministry - the series of unrepeatable and unique events in God's saving purpose has finally reached its eschaton in this central and ultimate event of his life, death, and resurrection. This supreme event, although it is ultimate and absolute, does not involve the temporal end to the succession of events. It is the final and complete expression of God's purpose and relation to man; i.e. all human action by this one supreme and ultimate event is brought under the divine judgement and mercy of God.

1. Talents, Matt. 25:14-30; Pounds, Luke 19:12-27; The Faithful and Unfaithful Servant, Matt. 24:45-51; Luke 12:42-46; Waiting Servants, Mark 13:33-37; Luke 12:35-38; The Thief at Night, Matt. 24:43-44; Luke 12:39-40; Ten Virgins, Matt. 25:1-12; Seed Growing Secretly, Mark 4:26-29; The Sower, Mark 4:2-8; Matt. 13:3-9; Luke 8:5-8; Tares, Matt. 13:24-30; Dragnet, Matt. 13:37-48; Mustard Seed, Mark 4:30-32; Matt. 13:31-32; Luke 13:18-19; Leaven, Matt. 13:3; Luke 13:20-21.

The early Church and many of the New Testament writers, influenced by the eschatological framework of contemporary Judaism, expected the immediate return of Christ. However, when the expected return of the Lord was indefinitely delayed, they lost sight of the central part of the message of Jesus. Adopting the eschatological framework and terminology of the Old Testament, they began to teach a 'Second Coming' of Jesus. This, according to C.H. Dodd, is especially evident in the Synoptics, the Act of the Apostles, and the early writings of St. Paul. However, the best minds of the early Church finally discovered the real meaning of the central message of Jesus. St. Paul in his later writings became less and less absorbed in eschatology, and affirmed more the present reality of the Kingdom.

The eschatology of the apostle Paul was considerably moulded by his experience of the significance of Jesus' events. The historical events of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus became the focal point from which Paul interpreted his view of the end. In his earlier epistles, Paul's eschatology shows close affinity with later Jewish apocalyptic eschatology with its emphasis on the imminent coming of the end in the very near future; however as the eschaton failed to appear, Paul, the 'best mind of the early Church' according to Dodd, came to realise more fully the significance of the first coming of Christ as itself the 'eschaton'. This realisation of the presence of the 'end' in the events of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus is clearly seen in Paul's later epistles. For Dodd, Paul's idea of the 'eschaton' indicates a teleological end rather than a temporal end to history; i.e. it implies that through the events of Jesus, the final revelation of God's purpose in history is fully disclosed. Paul, like the apocalyptic eschatology/

eschatology of Daniel and Enoch, holds the idea of a final consummation of history within the transcendent sphere; however, at the same time Paul differs from apocalyptic in the fact that what the apocalyptists expect to be consummated in the near future Paul sees as already being realised in the present. Through the historic events of Jesus, the transcendent has entered the present and the age to come has already come.

It seems from Dodd's early writings that his formulation of the Pauline eschatological viewpoint has already taken form before his major work on The Parables of the Kingdom. Though it may be true that some of Dodd's earlier articles¹ reflect an earlier development of his 'realised exposition' of Jesus' teaching and preaching, it is however undoubtedly the works of Paul that had made a great impression upon his initial research on the New Testament. In his earlier works on Paul,² Dodd was greatly fascinated by Paul's conviction of the significance of the events of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection. Dodd was convinced that the new age had already begun - the coming of Christ was in fact the turning point of history. It would be most improbable that it was through Dodd's understanding and exposition of Jesus' teaching and preaching in the Gospels that he was led to what he understood to be the Pauline eschatological standpoint, though the reverse may be possible.³

1. 'The This-Worldly Kingdom', 'The Gospel Parables', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. xvi, 1932, pp. 396-412; 'God in Christ'.
2. Meaning of Paul, 'Eschatological Element', 'Resurrection', 'Ethics', Romans, 'Ephesians', 'Mind of Paul II'.
3. B. Rigaux in his article 'L'interpretation', pp. 30f.; suggests that T.F. Glasson and J.A.T. Robinson have extended Dodd's 'realised eschatology' to the Pauline letters. Perhaps B. Rigaux was not aware that Dodd held the Pauline eschatology to be realised well before his three major works (Parables, Apostolic Preaching, and History), in which he thoroughly expounded his 'realised eschatology' in relation to Jesus' teaching.

Jesus' and Paul's eschatologies are drawn close to each other through Dodd's exposition. Neither Jesus' nor Paul's mature thought contemplates any future event in the course of history. Jesus has preached the presence of the Kingdom of God through him and what he was doing. Any reference to the future is regarded by Dodd as either symbolic of the transcendent and timeless character of the Kingdom of God, or as real predictions of historical events by Jesus, which the early Church has read in the light of late Jewish apocalyptic, giving them an unwarranted apocalyptic character.¹ In Paul's eschatology, Dodd sees the controlling influence of the significance of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus on traditional eschatology. Resurrection is an event of the age to come, and thus Paul could see the dramatic change in the traditional eschatological scheme brought about by this fact. For Dodd, the eschaton is here already - the coming of Christ has brought the teleological end to history, and the purpose of God is now fully revealed.

Later Development of C.H. Dodd's Thesis

Slight developments of Dodd's original position are seen in his article 'Matthew and Paul',² published in 1947. This article seems to indicate an evolution in Dodd's thought concerning the Kingdom of God/

1. Parables, pp. 56-67.

2. C.H. Dodd, 'Matthew and Paul', Expository Times lviii, 1947, pp. 293-298. (Henceforth referred to as 'Matthew'.)

God and the time of its final establishment. Dodd who insists on the distinction between the teleological end and the temporal end to history in his 'realised thesis' tends to falter here. He points out in his article that Matthew and Paul assign a special place in the eschatological scheme to the Kingdom of Christ as in some sense distinct from the Kingdom of God. The latter is to follow the former in a real time sequence. It seems that Dodd agrees with Paul and Matthew when they speak of the Kingdom of God as following the Kingdom of Christ after a real time interval, while in his other writings he affirms that the Kingdom of God in its complete and full reality was manifest with the historic coming of Jesus Christ. In his other writings, Dodd makes no such distinction between the Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of God. This change of Dodd's earlier position falls very much in line with A. Schweitzer's exposition of Pauline eschatology in his book The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, 1931.

Further modification of Dodd's position is again seen in his work, The Coming of Christ, published in 1951.¹ While still holding to his idea of 'realised eschatology', Dodd's thoughts tend more and more to accommodate the expectant element of primitive Christian proclamation, existing side by side with the 'realised' fact. According to Dodd, the early Christians, due to the delay of the imminent return of Christ, came to realise fully that the thing had happened. Christ had come. God's victory was won; Christ had won it; and they already shared in/

1. G.H. Dodd, The Coming of Christ, Cambridge, 1951. (Henceforth referred to as The Coming.)

in it. But that did not mean that they gave up the hope of another coming of Christ.¹ Early Christians realised that God's enemies were still active, and therefore there were many battles still to fight. God's victory was won; it was yet to win. For Dodd, both things are true, and thus the Christian life becomes a tension between realisation and expectation. Expectation passed into realisation; and realisation in turn kindled fresh expectancy. For the more deeply they appreciated what they had already received, the more clearly they knew that there is on earth nothing complete - there is always more to hope for.²

Dodd's later position recognised the coming of the Kingdom in the ministry of Jesus (i.e. his life, death, and resurrection); however, he contemplated a fuller manifestation beyond history.³ Dodd confessed that he had passed over too lightly some mysterious sayings about the coming of the Son of Man.⁴ This time he sees that we cannot easily dismiss the impression that the final scene is laid where the world of space, time, and matter is no longer in the picture. The 'symbolic language solution' is not enough to dismiss the possibility of another world than this in the sayings of Jesus. Thus Dodd's impression therefore is that 'the forecasts of a coming Christ in history are balanced by forecasts of a coming beyond history, and not a further/

1. Ibid., p. 8.

2. Ibid., p. 10.

3. This later position of Dodd indicates a return to his earlier understanding of Jesus' eschatology prior to his Parables. See 'Eschatological Element', pp. 21-22; 'The This-Worldly Kingdom', p. 260; 'Ephesians', pp. 61ff.

4. The Coming, p. 16.

further event in history, not even the last event'.¹ Undoubtedly, Dodd has modified his original 'realised eschatology' as expounded in his The Parables of the Kingdom. Though he still believes that the Kingdom of God has come through the first coming of Christ, yet he is aware that this would not fully accommodate the implication of Jesus' sayings. Sometimes it seems they associate the coming of the Son of Man in glory, the Kingdom of God, the last judgement, with the historical ministry of Jesus Christ; sometimes they associate it with the historical crisis yet to come; and sometimes with that which lies beyond all history in a world other than this.² Dodd thus could see the Kingdom of God present in the events of Jesus, and yet extended into the future world which is beyond time and history. Dodd's earlier Platonic tendencies are again apparent.³

This later position of Dodd concerning Jesus' eschatology may well have come as a consequence of his devoted study of the Fourth Gospel and its tradition later on in his career. His work on the Fourth Gospel which was later published under the title, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, 1953, again confirmed his modification of his view of Jesus' eschatology, from that which he emphatically expounded in his book The Parables of the Kingdom. From his early lectures on the Fourth/

1. The Coming, p. 17.

2. Ibid., p. 20.

3. Dodd's modification will again have to face the criticisms of R.N. Flew, N. Perrin, J.S. Mbiti, J.W. Fraser, Jesus and Paul, Appleford, Abingdon, Berkshire, 1974, p. 147; G.E. Ladd, The Pattern of New Testament Truth, Grand Rapids, 1968, p. 48; E.E. Ellis, op.cit., p. 33.

Fourth Gospel,¹ Dodd carefully expounded the term *kingdom of God*, and the idea of 'realised eschatology' which are basic to his understanding of the Johannine eschatology.² According to Dodd, there was a 'realised eschatology' in the eschatology of the early Church; prophecy has been realised and the Kingdom of God was already inaugurated. But there was also another type of eschatology which still looked to the future.³ In the Fourth Gospel, the language of futuristic eschatology is very little used, except in the farewell discourses, chapters 14-16. In the Johannine context, it is made clear that this promise of a return of Christ was fulfilled in the resurrection and the gift of the Holy Spirit. The new order is already inaugurated. The sense of realisation in the Fourth Gospel has spread itself over the whole field; the Lord is featured as seeing a universality that was certainly not apparent in the evangelist's day but these early Christians whom John was addressing no longer have the same future hope of universality. For John, the universality is there already in fact. The historical advent of Christ has brought all that he could bring - it is the fulfilment. But there is still some expectation of a universal Kingdom now present only in part. Dodd, inasmuch as he sees John's emphasis on the 'realised' aspect of the Kingdom fulfilled in the historic event of Christ, yet at the same time had to admit that/

1. 1943-1945, unpublished. I have had access to Professor R.McL. Wilson's notes from C.H. Dodd's lectures entitled 'The Interpretation and Criticism of the Fourth Gospel'.
2. A thorough and fuller exposition of these ideas could be found in Dodd's book, The Fourth Gospel, pp. 144ff.
3. Unpublished lecture notes, p. 27.

that this would by no means wipe out its other part which is yet to be consummated in the future.¹

In Dodd's lecture entitled 'The New Testament Doctrine of the Death of Christ',² the idea of the 'already realised' and the 'not yet' is again expressed in John's understanding of the significance of the death of Christ as judgement. In the light of the Johannine passages, Dodd sees the death and resurrection of Christ as a victory over the powers of evil (12:31, 'and now shall the prince of this world be cast out'; cf. Mark, and especially Luke and Paul). The death of Christ is also a moment at which the world is judged (12:31). The idea of judgement therefore is common. (Cf. the primitive kerygma in Acts 10:42, 'the judge of the quick and the dead', but this judgement is postponed until the second advent; as in Paul's writings.) In the Synoptics, Christ's ministry is already in a sense a process of judgement; some accept and some reject his word. In Paul, Christ stands representatively under the law, and in him the sentence is executed; God condemned sin in the flesh. Thus the death of Christ is a judgement in a two-fold sense. According to Dodd, we have both these lines of thought in John; the 'realised eschatology' of the Synoptics is carried to a conclusion in John - the ministry of Christ is the last judgement; the idea lurking in Paul and in the Synoptics that Christ is being judged by men, yet is judge of men, is in John expressed ironically (chapters 9, 18, 19). In John, the judgement of the world has come; light came and was/

1. Unpublished lecture notes, pp. 27-28.

2. Professor R.McL. Wilson's notes, dated c. 1943-1945.

was rejected, but at the same time, judgement is yet to come since Jesus is not yet the judge of men. Thus the two senses of the 'already' and the still 'not yet' judgement of the world are both expressed by the Fourth Evangelist.

Dodd's book The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, closely followed his earlier lectures.¹ He again asserted that the futuristic element in John has not entirely gone, for the Lord is represented as forecasting for his Church a universality which the evangelist can hardly have supposed to be fully realised in his time, and as speaking of the day when the generations of the dead will be raised up. According to Dodd, we need not regard such expectations as merely vestigial remains of the eschatology of the primitive Church. They are part of the evangelist's own faith; 'but they no longer have the full significance which belongs to the hope of the second advent in some other writings. The all important fact for this evangelist is that the universality of the Christian religion is already given in the moment when Christ being 'lifted up' begins to draw all men to himself, and that the eternal life to which the dead will be raised is already the possession of living men in union with him'.²

1. Dodd had a series of lectures which I have had access to through R. McL. Wilson's notes. These lectures are entitled, (i) The Interpretation and Criticism of the Fourth Gospel; (ii) The New Testament Doctrine of the Death of Christ; (iii) *Jesus' Eschatology* in John's Gospel; (iv) 'Realised Eschatology' in John, c. 1943-1945.
2. C.H. Dodd, The Fourth Gospel, p. 7.

In Dodd's exposition of *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*,¹ he indicates that the term is used in John with reference to the Jewish idea of the life of the 'age to come'; (John 5:39; 4:36; also compare John 12:25 with Mark 8:35; Matt. 10:39; 16:25; Luke 9:24; 17:33). The writer of the Fourth Gospel has given 12:25 a form which obviously alludes to the Jewish antithesis. The above passages in John indicate that the 'evangelist is developing his doctrine of "eternal life" with reference to the Jewish idea of the life of the "age to come", qualitatively as well as quantitatively different from this life'.² Other passages which use only *ζωή* (5:28,29) follow this sense as well. According to Dodd, many commentators have attributed these sayings to a redactor who did not fully understand the meaning of the evangelist. However, Dodd himself understood that such sayings which imply the idea of *ζωή αἰώνιος* in the sense of the future life, like the Jewish life of the 'age to come', are not easily dismissed or attributed to a redactor. We must therefore conclude that this is a part at least of what the evangelist meant by 'eternal life'.³

Other passages (e.g. 11:25-26) indicate a different meaning of *ζωή*. The first part, *ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ ζήσεται* may be taken as a confirmation of the popular eschatology as enunciated by Martha: faith in Christ gives the assurance that the believer will rise again after death. But the second statement, *καὶ νῦν ὁ ζῶν καὶ*

1. Ibid., pp. 144-150.

2. The Fourth Gospel, p. 147.

3. Ibid.

καὶ πιστεύουσιν εἰς ἐμὲ οὐκ ἐν ἀποθνήσκῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, implies that the 'believer is already "living" in a pregnant sense which excludes the possibility of ceasing to live. In other words, the "resurrection" of which Jesus has spoken is something which may take place before bodily death, and has for its result the possession of "eternal life" here and now'.¹ Dodd indicates that in passages like 3:36; 5:24; 6:47, 54; the believer possesses ζωὴν αἰώνιον here and now. Inevitably, the emphasis now falls on the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspect.²

From his understanding of the use of ζωὴν αἰώνιον in the Fourth Gospel, Dodd could therefore say that John conceives ζωὴν αἰώνιον, the life of God, to be accessible to men here and now, though it implies for its fulfilment an order of existence beyond space and time.³ Dodd's exposition of the discourse on the healing at Bethzatha (5:19-47) again showed these two stages of the Johannine eschatology:

i. To hear and believe the word of Christ is to possess eternal life; it is to have passed from death to life. In that sense, the time is coming and now is ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν.

ii. The time is coming ἔρχεται ὥρα when all who are in the tombs will hear his voice and come out (5:28-29; cf. 6:54, 11:25-26). According to Dodd, all these passages in John's Gospel/

1. Ibid., p. 148.

2. Cf. The Platonic meaning of αἰώνιος = eternal, timelessness, and Philo who follows very closely Plato's concept. See, The Fourth Gospel, pp. 149-150.

3. Ibid., p. 201.

Gospel affirm, first, that 'eternal life' may be enjoyed here and now by those who respond to the word of Christ, and secondly, that the same power which assures 'eternal life' to believers during their earthly existence will, after the death of the body, raise the dead to renewal of existence in a world beyond. The regulative idea is that Christ is the giver of life, *ζωονομῶν* ' on both these levels.¹

Dodd's exposition of the eschatology of Jesus' teaching and ministry has certainly been modified through his understanding of the Fourth Gospel tradition. He, in this book, has undoubtedly made concessions to the existence of a futuristic aspect of eschatology - not in this realm, but in a world which is beyond time and space. Dodd has elsewhere argued that the early outbreak in the Church of an over-emphasis on eschatological expectation for the future has in many places tended to overshadow the element of 'realised eschatology' in the ministry, teaching, passion, and resurrection of Jesus. John, it appears, drew upon a tradition in which this over-emphasis had at any rate not gone far. His formula *ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν* with the emphasis on the *νῦν ἐστίν*, without excluding the element of futurity, is according to Dodd, not merely an acute theological definition, but is essentially historical, and probably represents the authentic teaching of Jesus as veraciously as any formula could. If that is so, it follows that a picture of the ministry of Jesus largely controlled by that maxim cannot be without historical value.²

1. Ibid., pp. 364ff.

2. The Fourth Gospel, pp. 446-447.

Already in this work Dodd had shown his assent to the term put forward by Professor George Florovsky, 'inaugurated eschatology', and that of J. Jeremias, 'sich realisierende Eschatologie', which strongly indicated the existence of the futuristic aspect in the eschatology of Jesus.¹ However, though he showed signs of assent, Dodd at the same time never used such terms in his subsequent writings.

1. Ibid., p. 447, n. 1.

PART TWO

PREDECESSORS OF CHARLES HAROLD DODD

The interpretation by C.H. Dodd of New Testament eschatology, that of Jesus in particular and especially of Paul among the early apostolic writers, clearly reflects a synthesis of a number of different ideas and interpretations of the facts, all of which one may be hesitant to attribute to the renowned British scholar. Although it may be true that C.H. Dodd was the first to have argued that Jesus' teaching indicated a 'fully realised eschatology', yet at the same time one must not forget that many of the assessments and expositions of Jesus' utterances as well as interpretations of the Gospel by early Christians and apostolic writers which Dodd himself had used extensively in support of his eschatological standpoint had been previously espoused by some continental scholars.

Four names seem to stand out much clearly as the contributors towards the work of C.H. Dodd: Adolf von Harnack, Ernst von Dobschütz, Adolf Deissmann, and Rudolf Otto. Of the four, C.H. Dodd only acknowledges indebtedness to Rudolf Otto's work, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man.¹ However, as will be shown later, the works of these/

1. C.H. Dodd, Parables, pp. 38, 45, 48, etc. Apart from the work of Rudolf Otto, C.H. Dodd made hardly any references to the works of the other three. Professor R.McL. Wilson (St. Andrews University), former student of C.H. Dodd, Dr. F.W. Dillistone, author of C.H. Dodd's biography, and W.D. Davies, former student and close friend of Dodd, all acknowledged the lack of footnotes in C.H. Dodd's works, which makes it difficult to decipher earlier influences on his work (see F.W. Dillistone, op.cit., pp. 154f.).

these four scholars on the questions of New Testament eschatology have close resemblances to much of Dodd's exposition of the New Testament and eschatology generally, and this raises the question as to how much Dodd had relied on some of these earlier works for ideas and inspiration for what he later fully developed in his book The Parables of the Kingdom. Are the similarities that one finds in Dodd's work to be regarded as mere coincidences of ideas and expressions? How much contact did Dodd have with the published works and lectures of these scholars? Did he have any personal contact with any of them, or even an opportunity to exchange and discuss ideas and views on certain theological matters of interest? How much of Dodd's 'realised eschatology is his own original contribution towards New Testament scholarship, how much could be classified as borrowed?

F.W. Dillistone has clearly indicated Dodd's early attachment to German classical and biblical scholarship. He had been particularly impressed by Adolf von Harnack and, in spite of all criticisms of, and reactions to, ^{the} historian's interpretation of Christianity which was soon to become fashionable in Germany and elsewhere, Dillistone thinks that it is doubtful if Dodd ever deviated to any substantial degree from the attitude to history embodied in Harnack's work.¹ Dillistone indicates that Dodd was deeply impressed with Harnack's interpretation of Christianity, and especially with Harnack's dictum; 'the Christian religion is something simple and sublime; it means one thing and one thing only: eternal life in the midst of/

1. F.W. Dillistone, op.cit., p. 54.

of time, by the strength and under the eyes of God'.¹ C.H. Dodd's earlier research in numismatics while still an undergraduate at Oxford took him to Berlin in 1907 which had unrivalled sources for his research. In Berlin University, Dodd had the chance to attend a series of lectures conducted by A. von Harnack and Johannes Weiss of the Faculty of Theology.

E. von Dobschütz, a contemporary of A. von Harnack, was definitely no stranger to the young Dodd when he first started out on his career at Mansfield College, Oxford. In 1908, von Dobschütz gave a lecture at the Third International Congress for History of Religions in Oxford on the topic, 'The Significance of Early Christian Eschatology', and in 1909 gave four lectures on the 'Eschatology of the Gospels' at the Summer School of Theology at Oxford.² In these lectures of von Dobschütz, much of what Dodd later demonstrated as indicating a 'fully realised eschatology' was dealt with at length. The indications that Dodd was aware of von Dobschütz's exposition and understanding of Jesus' eschatology in the Gospels are indeed quite strong, and it is difficult to shrug off the similarities that may exist between their interpretations as mere coincidences.

1. A. von Harnack, Christianity, p. 8; F.W. Dillistone, op.cit., p. 54.
2. 'The Significance of Early Christian Eschatology' in the Transactions of the Congress, vol. ii, pp. 312-320. Also printed as an introduction to the four lectures delivered at the Summer School of Theology, Oxford University, 1909, under the title The Eschatology of the Gospels, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1910. (Henceforth referred to as Eschatology.)

The works of Adolf Deissmann¹ have been mentioned by F.W. Dillistone² as being influential upon Dodd's understanding of the New Testament despite the lack of acknowledgement by Dodd. It is important to note that Deissmann's initial work on the New Testament proper was on Paul, which was then followed by his substantial work on Jesus and Paul. The same development in the study of the New Testament can also be said of Dodd's work, though this identical development may be of minor importance.

A close scrutiny of the works of these earlier interpreters of the New Testament could well reveal the degree to which Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology' could be claimed as his own, and how much should be regarded as his debt to his predecessors.

1. A. Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, London, 1910, (original 1908); Paul, A Study in Social and Religious History, London, 1926, (original 1911); The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul, London, 1923. (Henceforth referred to as Light, Paul, and Religion respectively.)
2. In an interview with Dr. Dillistone, he mentioned that G.H. Dodd himself had personally referred to the works of A. Deissmann as being of great significance to him and his understanding of Jesus and Paul.

CHAPTER THREE

ADOLF VON HARNACK

Adolf von Harnack in one of his earlier works¹ clearly stated that Jesus announced that the 'Kingdom of God has already begun in his work, and those who received him in faith became sensible of this beginning'.² Such a statement clearly implies Harnack's view of eschatology and his lines of interpretation of Jesus' work and ministry. Firstly, it indicates an emphasis on the 'presentness' of the Kingdom of God in the ministry of Jesus; and secondly, it implies that such a kingdom is other than that of the contemporary Jewish concept of the external, political and historical entity to be realised soon within the historical time-line.

According to Harnack, Jesus announced the Kingdom of God which stands in opposition to the kingdom of the devil, and therefore also as a future Kingdom in opposition to the kingdom of the world, and yet it was presented in his preaching as present, as invisible, and yet visible; for one actually saw it. It is true that Jesus lived and spoke within the circle of eschatological ideas of the Jews, but he controlled them by giving them a new content and forcing them in a new direction. In fact, Jesus broke through the national, political, and sensual, eudaemonistic forms, in which the nation was/

1. A. von Harnack, History of Dogma, London, 1894. (Henceforth referred to as Dogma.)

2. Ibid., p. 58.

was expecting the realisation of the dominion of God, but turned their attention at the same time to the future near at hand, in which believers would be delivered from the oppression of evil and sin and would enjoy blessedness and dominion. And even now every individual who is called into the Kingdom may call on God as his Father, and be sure of the gracious will of God and his protection even in this life. However, for Harnack everything in this proclamation is directed to the life beyond.¹ Here, the future is seen to indicate or symbolise that which is beyond this realm. Such an understanding of the futuristic element of the Kingdom has a very close resemblance to that of C.H. Dodd who a few years later indicated that 'the futuristic aspect of Jesus' teaching refers to that aspect of the Kingdom of God which is transcendent and is beyond the realm of this world'.² Harnack's eschatological interpretation of the futuristic aspect of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus seems to show a strong Platonic tendency, an element which is also very strong in C.H. Dodd's eschatological interpretation.

Harnack's eschatological position concerning Jesus' teaching and his ministry reflected a struggle to come to grips with the nature and character of not only the present but also futuristic elements in Jesus' teaching about the Kingdom of God. However much he emphasised the 'presence' of the Kingdom through Jesus' present/

1. Harnack, Dogma, p. 62.

2. C.H. Dodd, 'Eschatological Element', p. 21; 'The This-Worldly Kingdom', pp. 258f.; Parables, pp. 55f.

present ministry, yet at the same time he still retains the future aspect of Jesus' ministry and teaching. This is clearly indicated when he said, 'Jesus' messianic work was not yet fulfilled in his subjection to death. On the contrary, the close is merely initiated by his death; for the completion of the Kingdom will only appear when he returns in glory in the clouds of heaven to judgement. Jesus seems to have announced this speedy return a short time before his death, and to have comforted his disciples at his departure with the assurance that he would immediately enter into a supramundane position with God'.¹ Harnack did not expound on Jesus' future and speedy return; however, his indication of Jesus' immediate position as transcendent and supramundane with God may well imply the future activity of Jesus as non-historical, supramundane, and transcendent.

The presence of the Kingdom of God in the ministry of Jesus is something which Harnack strongly upholds. In Jesus' proclamation of God as Father as well as in the other proclamation, that all the members of the Kingdom following the will of God in love are to become one with the Son and through him with the Father, the message of the 'realised' Kingdom of God receives its richest, inexhaustible content: the Son of the Father will be the first-born among many brethren.² To realise the presence of this Kingdom is not easy since it only comes as an existential experience, through one's 'complete change of mind a believing trust in God's grace which he grants/

1. Harnack, Dogma, p. 66.

2. Ibid., p. 64.

grants to the humble and the poor, and therefore hearty confidence in Jesus as the Messiah chosen and called by God to realise His Kingdom on earth. The announcement of the Kingdom is directed to the poor, the suffering, those hungering and thirsty for righteousness'.¹ Such would indicate the character of the realised Kingdom as something inward rather than external, something which is already present making its impact upon our present life, though not many would recognise it. Harnack again further and more fully expounded his ideas of the Kingdom in his subsequent lectures entitled 'What is Christianity?'.²

In these lectures, Harnack indicated that Jesus' message of the Kingdom of God embraced two poles:

i. At one pole, the coming of the Kingdom seems to be a purely future event and the Kingdom itself to be the external rule of God.

ii. At the other, it appears as something inward, something which is already present and making its entrance at the moment. These aspects of the Kingdom Jesus took from the religious traditions of his nation, where it already occupied a foremost place.³ Jesus accepted various aspects of this tradition; however, a/

1. Dogma, p. 64.

2. These were a series of sixteen lectures delivered in the University of Berlin during the Winter Term of 1899-1900. The lectures were later translated into English by T.B. Saunders and published under the title What is Christianity?, London, 1901.

3. Christianity, pp. 52, 133.

as previously pointed out, he discarded the eudaemonistic expectation of a mundane and political character, and he himself added new ones. The view that the Kingdom of God 'cometh not with observation, that it is already here was Jesus' own'.¹ It reflects the Kingdom as something inward, something which is already present and making its entrance at the moment.² According to Harnack, if anyone wants to know what the Kingdom of God and the coming of it meant in Jesus' message, he must read and study the parables (advice which Dodd later took very seriously). The Kingdom of God comes by coming to the individual, by entering into his soul and laying hold of it. True, the Kingdom of God is the rule of God, but it is the rule of the holy God in the hearts of individuals; it is God himself in His power. From this point of view, everything that is dramatic in the external and historical sense has vanished, and gone too are all the external hopes of the future.³

Harnack had closely studied the sayings of Jesus as recorded in the 'Q' document. From his comparison of 'Q' and Mark, as well as from his examination of the subject matter of 'Q', he indicated that it would certainly be hard to conclude that 'Q' is dependent upon/

1. Ibid., p. 54.

2. Cf. with E. von Dobschütz, Eschatology, pp. 129f.; G.H. Dodd, Parables, pp. 84-85.

3. This very characteristic of the Kingdom of God as something inward and not external, something which each individual could experience now through acceptance by faith is a character which Dodd also advocated in his exposition of the Kingdom (cf. also R. Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, London, 1938, pp. 73-74. (Henceforth referred to as Kingdom of God.)

upon St. Mark, and scarcely ever to acknowledge that 'Q' from the historical point of view is inferior to St. Mark; in fact in several instances these comparisons have convinced us of the superiority of the former to the latter.¹

From his investigation of the 'Q' sayings, Harnack came to the conclusion that the antinomy that 'the kingdom is future and yet present' is dominant in the sayings of Jesus. In the sayings and the discourses in Matt. 7:21, 24-27; Luke 6:46-49; Matt. 10:7; Luke 9:2; 10:9, 11; Matt. 8:11-12; Luke 13:28, 29; Matt. 10:26-33; Luke 12:2-9; Matt. 6:25-33; Luke 12:22-31 the Kingdom of God is frequently mentioned. It is regarded as belonging to the future.² However, in other statements, Matt. 12:22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 43-45; Luke 11:14, 17, 19, 20, 23-26, it is said that the deliverance from the power of the evil spirits implied that the Kingdom of God has already come among the people. In the parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven (Matt. 13:31-33; Luke 13:18-21) it is presented as a growing power, an influence gradually leavening mankind, and this conception makes it possible to regard the new epoch which dawned with the active ministry of Jesus our Lord, succeeding the mission of the Baptist, as already the epoch of the Kingdom (as if present: Matt. 11:2-11; Luke 7:18-28; Matt. 11:12-13; Matt. 16:16).³ C.H. Dodd's interpretation of the 'Q'/'

1. A. von Harnack, The Sayings of Jesus: the Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke, trans. by J.R. Wilkinson, London, 1908 (original 1906), pp. 225f. (Henceforth referred to as Sayings of Jesus.)

2. A. von Harnack, Sayings of Jesus, p. 231.

3. Ibid., p. 232.

'Q' version of the parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven closely resembles the thought of A. von Harnack concerning the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus, as 'inward and to be experienced individually. The Kingdom of God for which the prophets until John made preparations has now come'.¹ Both parables show the element of secrecy and an inward development rather than the external display of the coming Kingdom: the Mustard Seed growing secretly, the Leaven working slowly within the dough. Dodd suggests that the nearest parallel to the latter parable among the non-parabolic sayings seems to be the Lukan passage (Luke 17:20-21). 'The Kingdom of God does not come by looking for it; nor shall they say, "Look here; look there"; for the Kingdom of God is within you'.² Dodd argues that ἐν ὑμῖν should be rightly interpreted 'within you' rather than 'among you'.³ Such an interpretation shows a close affinity to Harnack's concept of the Kingdom as something which is already present within the hearts of those who have already accepted with a believing trust the grace of God and have confidence in Jesus as the Messiah chosen and called by God to realise His Kingdom on earth. Realisation of the Kingdom comes through the individual experience of Christ as the Messiah through faith, 'an inward experience which does not come with observation, however it is already here'.⁴ It is the most important experience/

1. C.H. Dodd, Parables, p. 191; cf. A. von Harnack, Christianity, p. 59.

2. C.H. Dodd, Parables, pp. 193, 84-85.

3. Cf. Harnack's interpretation, Christianity, pp. 61f.

4. Harnack, Christianity, pp. 54, 62; Dogma, p. 58.

experience that a man can have, that on which everything else depends; it permeates and dominates his whole existence, because sin is forgiven and misery banished.

Harnack, however much he sees the main thrust of Jesus' teaching of the Kingdom of God as inward and not political, present and not future, universal and not national, yet at the same time could not completely sever Jesus' teaching from its traditional eschatological anchorage. Thus Jesus can say, 'the Kingdom of God is not here' (apocalyptic) or 'it is within you'. However, for Harnack, what Jesus thought to be most important about the Kingdom is that 'the Kingdom of God is here; the eternal had entered into time. Eternal light came in and made the world look new. This is Jesus' message of the Kingdom - everything else can be brought into connection with this.'¹ Harnack sees in Jesus the personal realisation of the Gospel and its strength. Man is now raised to a new level since the divine had appeared in the pure form.² Jesus himself had announced that the Kingdom of God had already begun in his own work and those who received him in faith became aware of this beginning.³

Therefore, according to Harnack, when Jesus speaks of the Kingdom of God, he is speaking not simply in idealistic terms but also from an eschatological viewpoint. Rumscheidt indicates that Harnack/

1. Harnack, Christianity, p. 62.

2. Ibid., p. 145.

3. Harnack, Dogma, p. 8.

Harnack 'abhorred the eschatological. But he did not pretend that it did not exist. He knew that Jesus' proclamation of God's Kingdom was an eschatological proclamation.'¹ In fact Jesus spoke of the two opposing kingdoms. The coming of the Kingdom of God signifies that the kingdom of the devil is destroyed and the demon vanquished. By Jesus' healing, and above all by his forgiving sin, the Kingdom of God comes.² In the struggle between these two forces, Jesus spoke of the last hour; the hour is come.³ Bultmann pointed out in his preface to the 1950 edition of What is Christianity? that, although Harnack used this saying of Jesus, he did not seem to have seen the importance of the utterance.⁴ This criticism may have arisen out of the fact that Harnack did not pursue a single line approach to Jesus' teaching about the Kingdom such as we see later in C.H. Dodd's work, a line which the statement 'the last hour is come' seems to imply. However, despite the existence of both the idealistic and the eschatological in Jesus' teaching, Harnack was convinced that the idealistic character of the Kingdom is of greater significance in Jesus' Gospel. This is because, for Harnack, the coming of the Kingdom does not constitute the end of history. The Parousia is not taken to be the cataclysmic change of the world into the world of God. However, 'the Kingdom of God comes/

1. H.M. Rumscheidt, Revelation and Theology: An Analysis of the Barth-Harnack Correspondence of 1923, Cambridge, 1972, p. 77.
2. Ibid., p. 60.
3. Harnack, Christianity, p. 122.
4. Harnack, Christianity, p. x.

comes by coming to the individual, by entering into his soul and by being grasped by him. The Kingdom of God is the rule of God, yes, but it is the rule of the holy God in the individual hearts, it is God himself in his power. Everything dramatic in an external and world-historical sense is gone here, gone also is the quite external hope for the future. God himself is the Kingdom.¹ Thus, for Harnack, Jesus could say, 'the Kingdom is not here or there, it is within you'.² In other words, the Kingdom is not of the future but of the present; it is equally close in all men in every age since Jesus.³

In reference to the Pauline eschatological scheme, Harnack suggests that it was Paul who definitely conceived the Gospel as the message of the 'redemption already effected and of salvation now present'.⁴ Paul preached the crucified and risen Christ who gave access to God and therewith righteousness and peace. Harnack sums up Paul's eschatology by quoting what Wellhausen said, 'Paul's especial work was to transform the Gospel of the Kingdom into the Gospel of Jesus Christ, so that the Gospel is no longer the prophecy of the coming of the Kingdom but its actual fulfilment by Jesus. In his view, accordingly, redemption from something in the future has become something which has already happened and is now present. He laid far more emphasis on faith than on hope; he anticipates the sense of the future bliss in/

1. Ibid., p. 56.

2. Ibid., pp. 61f.

3. Ibid., p. 56.

4. Harnack, Christianity, pp. 176-177.

in the present feeling of being God's son; he vanquishes death and already leads a new life on earth.'¹ Harnack's understanding of the 'presence' of the Kingdom of God in the person and ministry of Jesus shows great similarity to Dodd's emphasis on the realised nature of the Gospel in the coming of Jesus. Although Harnack did not completely sever Jesus' teaching from its traditional eschatological roots, yet his interpretation of the future hope in terms of the transcendent which lies beyond the boundaries of time and history recalls Dodd's interpretation of some of the futuristic statements in the teaching of Jesus, as merely a stylistic device used by Jesus to convey the essentially timeless and transcendent nature of the Kingdom of God which already has arrived with the historical event of his ministry. Writing of the futuristic elements in the thought of Jesus, Dodd claims that these future tenses are only an accommodation of language. So also for Harnack, 'the future bliss is now present, through the coming of Jesus, and therefore Christians could live in such existence through faith'.² Harnack had certainly lifted the eschatological proclamation of Jesus beyond this historical realm to a sphere which is beyond the boundaries of time, history, and place. The future, it is strongly implied, is to be set in the transcendent realm, rather than at the end of the world and history as apocalyptic eschatology implies. This interpretation of the futuristic aspect of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus certainly has very strong Platonic/

1. Ibid., p. 178.

2. Harnack, Christianity, p. 178.

Platonic tendencies, an aspect which C.H. Dodd was often accused of by his critics. Harnack's understanding of the nature of the future in the eschatological hope clearly resembles that of C.H. Dodd! Dodd's Platonic sympathies from his early Oxford days may well have been strengthened by his early association with A. von Harnack and his work.

It is also important to note here the similarity between Harnack's and Dodd's philosophical and ethical outlook. In addition to Harnack's intellectual brilliance, he was a man endowed with a very high moral sense. He strongly upholds the absolute value of the human person.¹ For Harnack, one can learn of the historical Jesus through literary historical research. In his correspondence with his former student, Karl Barth, who later on disputed his scientific, methodical, unprejudiced and cognitive approach to the scriptures, Harnack clearly points out that 'reason is necessary for the clear description of what is divine. It is also needed to protect the divine against profanation. Reason alone can show us the true person of Jesus Christ whom we experience.'² Brought up in the strict Congregationalist tradition, Dodd inherited a great sense of morality. Harnack's optimistic outlook towards New Testament scholarship is shared by Dodd who strongly believed that 'God, man and the world were there to be known if man is prepared to labour honestly in search of the ultimate meaning of the universe'.³

1. H.M. Rumscheidt, op.cit., p. 4.

2. Ibid., p. 57.

3. F.W. Dillistone, op.cit., p. 5; E. von Dobschütz, Transactions of the Congress, p. 312.

CHAPTER FOUR
ERNST VON DOBSCHÜTZ

'The view which is today generally known by the term "realised eschatology" was anticipated in some measure by E. von Dobschütz in 1910, in his book The Eschatology of the Gospels'.¹ This statement perhaps best sums up the relationship of C.H. Dodd and his eschatological interpretation of Jesus' teaching and that of St. Paul, to that of his earlier predecessor, E. von Dobschütz. Although Dodd in his works on the New Testament and especially in his book The Parables of the Kingdom made no reference to von Dobschütz nor acknowledged any indebtedness to his works, yet it would be highly unlikely that C.H. Dodd was not aware of von Dobschütz's work or that he was not influenced in some ways by his lectures on eschatology at Oxford in 1908 and 1909.²

Writing in 1909, E. von Dobschütz stated that some 'fifty years ago people talking about eschatology did not mean anything else than what happens after death', and that now 'eschatology is the doctrine of the last things as understood by late Jewish teaching'. He proceeds, 'and latterly we have come to use the word to express a certain mode of feeling, not so much the different opinions on some/

1. H.A. Guy, The New Testament Doctrine of the Last Things, Oxford, 1948, p. 71.
2. 'The Significance of Early Christian Eschatology', 1908; 'The Eschatology of the Gospels', 1909.

some points of eschatology, as the whole fashion of the mind produced by a belief in the near approach of the end'.¹ According to von Dobschütz, this is what many scholars have in mind when they speak of the teaching of Jesus as being essentially eschatological or the outlook of the early Church as being eschatologically conditioned. It does not mean that Jesus or the apostles issued detailed predictions of the last things which would happen to men or the universe. It denotes rather the influence of a particular conception of man and the universe which determined to a large extent their outlook upon the ultimate problem of God and man.

In his paper 'The Significance of Early Christian Eschatology', von Dobschütz indicated that the Gospels had introduced two new elements into the contemporary traditional eschatology:

i. the central place was given to Jesus whose parousia or descent from heaven in the glory of the Father was to bring with it the end of this world, the resurrection, the judgement, the Kingdom of God, and life everlasting; and

ii. this was expected to happen very speedily, the Messiah having being sent already by God in the person of Jesus, and being postponed for a short space only.² This is important for the early Christians who were therefore persuaded that the great day when all would be changed was to come in the lifetime of their own generation. Von Dobschütz asserted that Jesus and Paul had shared the/

1. E. von Dobschütz, Eschatology, p. 61.

2. Eschatology, p. 5; Transactions, p. 312.

the same conviction of a future eschaton; but Jesus never speaks of the eschaton in his own lifetime; rather it is only in the next generation that the Kingdom will come (Mark 9:1). Jesus declared that the Gospel must be preached to all nations before the Kingdom can come. Also, despite his sending out of his disciple, and his orders which show that he would have them hurry on (Mark 6:8-12), he himself makes no haste at all.¹ The same conception also is seen in Paul, who, like Jesus, anticipated this future coming. The only difference is that Paul anticipated this future coming in his own lifetime (1 Thess. 4:15, 17; 1 Cor. 15:51-52).

The fact that Jesus shared the contemporary eschatological viewpoint of a future coming did not, according to von Dobschütz, affect in the least Jesus' ethics, nor did it create a system of 'interim principles of conduct' valid only for this interim period before the parousia. It is true that Jesus insists on the duty of being watchful, because the day will come suddenly as a thief in the night (Matt. 24:42-44); but if we eliminate his eschatological ideas his ethics remain unchanged. The parables of the Good Samaritan and the Prodigal Son, the Great Commandment of love and that of self-renunciation (Mark 13:28-34; Matt. 5:38-48; Luke 6:26, 27) are in no way suggestive of an 'interim ethic' but of a definite absolute system of ethics.² Although von Dobschütz acknowledges that Jesus clearly upholds the futuristic aspect of eschatology, yet at the/

1. Transactions, p. 314.

2. Ibid., p. 315.

the same time he does not confine it only to that which is yet to come. In fact his ethical teaching does not suggest that it is conditioned by this aspect of the Kingdom. Instead, Jesus introduced a new aspect of eschatology. In Jesus' teaching, there is a strong line of what he would call 'transmuted eschatology'. 'What was spoken of in Jewish eschatology as to come in the last days is taken here as already at hand in the lifetime of Jesus; transmuted at the same time in the other sense, that what was expected as an external change is taken inwardly, not all people seeing it, but Jesus' disciples becoming aware of it.'¹ As such, Jesus certainly had a different conception of the Kingdom of God from the current one. For him, the Kingdom of God is not to be brought about by a miraculous act of God, but it is the domination of God, casting away all evil powers (Matt. 12:28; Luke 11:20; cf. Luke 10:18). Jesus himself by his complete union with God brings in this domination of God; it is where he is; it is present among men; it is to be found in men's hearts and not to be looked for in external, miraculous signs (Luke 17:21). So Jesus in his own opinion is not only preparing the future Kingdom of God like his forerunner, John the Baptist, but he is actually bringing it in/

1. E. von Dobschütz, Eschatology, p. 150. This point was not new. T. Colani in 1864 emphasised the fact that the Kingdom had already come in the ministry of Jesus and underlined Matt. 12:28, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπαύριον, 11:4-6; Luke 17:20-21, and similar sayings (Jesus Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps, p. 95). E. Hoskyns and N. Davey, The Riddle of the New Testament, London, 1931; pp. 166-167, showed that underlying Mark's Gospel was the thought that the messianic prophecies of Isaiah 35, etc., were now fulfilled, and thus the whole ministry of Jesus is the advent of precisely those things which were sighed for in the messianic hope.

in (Matt. 18:9-10; Luke 7:26-28; 16:16).¹ According to von Dobschütz, many sayings of Jesus and Paul are then only fully intelligible if we recognise that eschatological terms are used by them in a new sense; they discard all external, political, miraculous significance, but take the inward moral meaning as already fulfilled. At the same time they do not entirely eliminate the other meaning; putting forward the new they retain the original one combined with it. If time present had brought fulfilment, still larger fulfilment is in store for the time to come. According to von Dobschütz, the new gifts Jesus had to bring to mankind are envisaged by himself in the form of old Jewish conceptions. External reality did not correspond to what people expected, to what Jesus himself found in the prophets. There was still a lack of external glory. Now Jesus trusted his Father to accomplish what he had begun and fulfil all that he had promised. Therefore, Jesus' teaching and ministry indicated that the Kingdom is at hand, it is present in his person, in his casting out devils, in his bringing sinners to repentance, but it has still to come in glory, when after his death and resurrection he will come upon the clouds from heaven (Mark 8:38; 14:62). So in Jesus' preaching everything is at once present and future; you have it, you will receive it. The same may also be said of Paul's doctrine: there we find not only the double conception of the Kingdom, present and future (Romans 14:17; 1 Cor. 4:20; 1 Thess. 2:12; 1 Cor. 6:9, 10; Gal. 5:21), but also that of/

1. Von Dobschütz, Eschatology, p. 19.

of sonship, of redemption, of deliverance, of righteousness and so on.¹ We are children of God; we have the spirit of sonship, and yet we have to wait for the sonship (Rom. 8:14, 16, 19, 23). We are redeemed, and yet we look for the redemption of our body (1 Cor. 1:30; Rom. 8:23). Paul also speaks of one 'in Christ' as a new creature, exalted above all human misery and sin, and yet what he had already received is only a small portion of what he will receive when the Lord come in glory (2 Cor. 5:17). If Christ's death has done such great things, he argues in Romans 5, to reconcile us with God how great will be the effect of Christ's life (Rom. 5:9, 10), i.e. of his coming in glory and of our being united with him eternally.²

The eschatological standpoint taken by E. von Dobschütz concerning Jesus' teaching came as a result of his close scrutiny of some of Jesus' eschatological utterances, the very sayings and parables which were also of significant value to Dodd's exposition of his 'realised eschatology'. Von Dobschütz and C.H. Dodd were in marked agreement in their exegesis of a number of crucial sayings:

1. 'Q' material in Luke 11:19-20 and Matthew 12:27-28: 'But if it is by the finger (or 'by the Spirit' according to Matthew) of God that I cast out demons, then is the Kingdom of God come upon you.' To von Dobschutz, the 'is come' (ἐφθασεν) must mean something more than the usual 'is at hand' (γγικεν); it is the solemn declaration that the Kingdom is present in Jesus' actions; his/

1. E. von Dobschütz, Eschatology, pp. 23ff.

2. Ibid., p. 25.

his casting out of the devils proves that the powers of the Kingdom are at work. Von Dobschütz sees Jesus' destruction of evil and the devil as a sign of the presence of the Kingdom of God. This interpretation of the act of exorcism is a distinctive mark of Jesus' ministry. There was, besides the political notions of the Kingdom of God, another idea in Jewish eschatology, a mythological one, taking the Kingdom of God in contrast to ^{the}power of Satan and his evil spirits. This second notion is what we have here, but the difference is that Jesus by his acts of exorcism and healing realises the idea of the Kingdom of God.¹ This Beelzebub section bears a significant witness to the presence of the Kingdom in the person, work, and ministry of Jesus. A similar emphasis is also placed upon this section by C.H. Dodd.² 'The Kingdom of God has come upon you' is a declaration that the Kingdom is a present fact through Jesus' ministry when men must recognise whether by their actions they accept or reject it.³

ii. Luke 17:20-21, '.... the Kingdom of God cometh not with observation, neither shall they say, Lo, here, Lo, there; for Lo, the Kingdom of God is within you'. So ἐντὸς ὑμῶν is translated both by the Authorised Version, and the Revised Version. Von Dobschütz likewise translated ἐντὸς ὑμῶν as 'is within you'. He argued that Luke would have used ἐν μέσῳ if he had meant/

1. Ibid., pp. 126-127.

2. C.H. Dodd, Parables, pp. 43-45.

3. Ibid., p. 44.

meant 'in the midst' or 'among', but instead he used *ἐντός ὑμῶν* which implies 'in' or the 'inwardness' of the Kingdom.¹ This reference is a significant witness to von Dobschütz's understanding of Jesus' eschatology as inward, an inner realisation in men's hearts of the presence of God's power, God's rule and Kingdom through the person and work of Jesus. The Kingdom of God is not an external and political entity as anticipated by Jewish apocalyptists; instead it is something which comes without observation. In fact it is something which is already within us. If it is men's hearts where evil thoughts come from, or in other words, where the devil exercises his dominion, then it is men's hearts too where the Kingdom of God is to be established. Just as for von Dobschütz, so also for C.H. Dodd Luke 17:20-21 is an important text. He, like von Dobschütz, sees the coming of the Kingdom as different from any historical events. It is not external in the sense that one cannot place it as 'here' or 'there'. Over against the popular consensus that *ἐντός ὑμῶν* should be translated 'among you', Dodd supported 'within you' as the proper translation of the phrase.²

iii. Matthew 11:12, 13 cf. Luke 16:16.

vv. 12, 13

v. 16/

1. E. von Dobschütz, Eschatology, pp. 129-132; cf. Dodd, Parables, p. 84.
2. C.H. Dodd, Parables, pp. 84-85. For Dodd, Luke would use *ἐν μέσῳ* if he had meant 'among you'. Cf. with E. von Dobschütz, Eschatology, p. 130.

vv. 12, 13

ἀπο δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν
Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ
ἕως ἄρτι ἡ βασιλεία
τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται,
καὶ βιάσται ἀρπάζουσιν
αὐτήν. πάντες γὰρ οἱ
προφῆται καὶ ὁ νόμος
ἕως Ἰωάννου ἐπροφῆτευσαν.

v. 16

ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ
προφῆται μέχρι Ἰωάννου
ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ
θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται καὶ
πᾶς εἰς αὐτήν βιάζεται

Von Dobschütz suggested that these are two forms of one original saying of Jesus, which comes not from 'Q' but rather from some other source, perhaps an oral one. The difficulty here lies not only in an attempt to reconstruct the original version but also in trying to define the meaning of those most disputed words *βιάζεται* and *ἀρπάζουσιν*. However, despite these difficulties, von Dobschütz indicated that one thing seems to be beyond any doubt; i.e. 'the time of Jesus is set in opposition to the time until John, the present to the past, and it is to this present that the Kingdom of God belongs, not to a third form, the future. And because it is present, it is taken as something inward, as some experience of happiness which men try to get so eagerly that they jostle one another in the effort to reach it.'¹ Dodd also seems to find a problem in finding the precise meaning of this passage, but like von Dobschütz he seems clear that a contrast is drawn between the past and the present. John the/

1. E. von Dobschütz, Eschatology, p. 134.

the Baptist marks the dividing line; before him, the law and the prophets; after him, the Kingdom of God. Any interim period is excluded. Thus, Dodd could say that this passage also clearly shows that in the earliest tradition Jesus was understood to have proclaimed that the Kingdom of God, the hope of many generations, had at last come. It is not really imminent; it is here.¹

iv. Mark 10:15 (cf. Luke 18:17): 'Truly, I say to you, whoever does not receive the Kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it.' Von Dobschütz understands this verse as implying some inward experience accessible to man now in the present, before the Kingdom in the external eschatological sense is to be revealed. The Kingdom of God as an experience of man's heart would be in agreement with what we learned from Luke 17:21.² A similar interpretation is advocated by Dodd not only of this passage (Mark 10:15), but also of others like Matthew 5:3 and Luke 6:20 (cf. Mark 10:14), which for Dodd are 'ways of saying that the coming of the Kingdom of God is realised in experience'.³

v. Mark 4:30-32; 'Q': Luke 13:18-21; Matthew 13:31-33: the two parables, those of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven, as found in the Synoptic Gospels, seemed to have been drawn from the two sources, Mark and 'Q'. Only the parable of the Mustard Seed is recorded in Mark, while Luke who follows the 'Q' source has the original couplet.

1. Dodd, Parables, pp. 48-49.

2. Eschatology, p. 135.

3. Parables, p. 47.

Matthew seems to have combined, as he always likes to do, the Markan form with the 'Q' tradition to form his own version of the parables. According to von Dobschütz, the notion of the Kingdom of God given in these parables is at any rate quite the opposite to the eschatological one in which the Kingdom appears suddenly in its full power and glory. The important point is that the Kingdom of God is growing up, however quickly, and it is exercising influence by its inherent power.¹ Dodd classified these parables as Parables of Growth, and held that in these parables Jesus is asserting that the time has come when the blessings of the reign of God are available for all men.² It is comparable to that of The Great Feast, as well as those sayings which justify the appeal of Jesus to publicans and sinners.³ The Kingdom of God is here; the birds are flocking to find shelter in the shade of the tree. Von Dobschütz believes that Jesus in these parables thinks of a rapid growing up and a quick leavening of the whole people by his Gospel. But at all events, it is by his own preaching, teaching, and healing that the Kingdom is to be realised. The main point that Jesus is trying to get through according to von Dobschütz is not so much the Gospel but that of the Kingdom of God, illustrating its extensive power. Therefore the conclusion is inevitable that it is by Jesus' preaching that the Kingdom of God comes.⁴

1. Eschatology, p. 136.

2. Parables, p. 191.

3. Ibid., pp. 117-123.

4. Eschatology, p. 137; cf. Parables, p. 191.

It is important to note that this peculiar notion of the Kingdom of God as some present, inward experience is supported by a set of sayings which shows Jesus looking upon his own present activity as means of not so much preparing but of bringing salvation to his people:

a. Luke 7:19; Matthew 11:3: the question of John the Baptist to Jesus. In Jesus' answer, he makes John consider his activity and see how it fulfils what the prophets had said about the time of salvation. For von Dobschütz, in whatever sense one may take the words, 'the blind receive their sight, the deaf hear, etc., spiritual or realistic, Jesus' doings, his preaching, his healing fulfil these expectations.

b. Mark 8:27ff.: the Caesarea Philippi confession. Jesus' own disciples by the mouth of Peter found the right expression, solemnly declaring him to be the Messiah, the unique and final bringer of salvation.

c. Luke 10:23; Matthew 13:16: 'Blessed are the eyes which see the things which ye see' For von Dobschütz, we can hardly imagine a more solemn form of proclamation for the fact that in Christ's present actions, all the promises are fulfilled.

d. In Jesus was fulfilled whatever was expected for the messianic time: e.g. mutual hatred between the nearest relations (Mark 13:12; cf. Luke 21:16; Matt. 10:21; 24:10; Luke 12:51-53; Matt. 10:34-35), unbelief of his own family (Mark 3:21, 31ff.; cf. Matt. 12:46ff.; Luke 8:19ff.; John 7:5), unbelief of his own countrymen (Mark 6:1-6; cf. Matt. 13:53-58; Luke 4:16-30), sharp separation (Matt. 24:40, 41; Luke 17:34; Matt. 8:22; Luke 9:60), the messianic banquet (Luke 13:28ff.; Matt. 8:11f.). All these are fulfilled/

fulfilled already in Jesus' lifetime by his preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom to the poor (Matt. 21:31f.; cf. Luke 7:29).

e. Jesus as surrounded by his disciples represents the new era of messianic time (Mark 2:19, 20; cf. Matt. 9:15; Luke 5:34-35). He looked upon his estate as belonging already to the new order of things. In the parables concerning the new piece of cloth and the new wine (Mark 2:21-22), Jesus declares as clearly as possible that there is something new about him in contrast to all that which was before. Like Luke 16:16 dealing with John the Baptist the law and the prophets are representative of the time gone and the preaching of the Kingdom is characteristic of the time now.¹

Dodd's interpretation closely resembles von Dobschütz's understanding of the above sayings and passages. With special reference to Luke 10:23-24/Matt. 13:16-17; Luke 11:31-32/Matt. 12:41-42 and Matt. 11:2-11/Luke 7:18-30 he clearly indicates that Jesus intended to proclaim the Kingdom of God not as something to come in the near future, but rather as a matter of present experience. These passages, the most explicit of their kind, are sufficient to show that in the earliest tradition, Jesus was understood to have proclaimed that the Kingdom of God, the hope of many generations, had at last come.²

1. Eschatology, pp. 138-150. N.B. The same parables mentioned by von Dobschütz are similarly understood by Dodd; the old corresponding to the time of the Law and Prophets until John, and the new to Jesus' time when the Kingdom of God is proclaimed (Parables, p. 117).

2. Parables, p. 49.

Following directly from the above investigation and interpretation of Jesus' utterances in the Gospels, von Dobschütz concludes that Jesus' teaching implies a strong line of 'transmuted eschatology'. The Kingdom of God expected of the future is already present through the activities of Jesus and man therefore could inwardly experience its existence now. However, although von Dobschütz understands the Kingdom of God as being already present and available now through the person and work of Jesus, and although he strongly emphasises the inward experiential presence of the Kingdom within those who have 'eyes to see and ears to hear', concepts which are characteristic of the 'realised' eschatological standpoint, yet von Dobschütz could never be classified as an exponent of a fully realised eschatology of Jesus' teaching in the sense that Dodd was. This is because, for von Dobschütz, 'the Kingdom of God is at hand, it is present in Jesus' person, in his casting out of devils, in his bringing sinners to repentance; but for him, more has still to come in glory when after his death and resurrection he will come upon the clouds from heaven (Mark 8:38; 14:62). Therefore for Jesus' preaching, everything is at once present and future; you have it, you will receive it.'¹ However, even though von Dobschütz is not an exponent of a fully realised eschatology, yet his exposition of Jesus' sayings and utterances as indicating an inward experiential presence of God's Kingdom and rule now, not externally but within the believer's heart, has certainly paved the way for what Dodd later developed into a fully-realised/

1. Eschatology, pp. 23-24.

fully-realised exposition of Jesus' teaching and ministry. Their only difference is that, whilst von Dobschütz accepts the future-apocalyptic reference to the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus to indicate that other part of eschatology which is yet to be accomplished, Dodd set out to explain away all futuristic implications as either historical predictions or as a mere accommodation of language which indicates the transcendent aspect of the Kingdom which already could be experienced now in the first coming of Jesus.

Considerable similarities between Dodd and von Dobschütz exist especially in their expositions of various passages and sayings of Jesus. Despite the lack of acknowledgement by Dodd of any possible influence of von Dobschütz's work upon the formulation of his eschatological interpretation of Jesus' teaching, it is yet without doubt that much of his exegetical expositions and interpretations in support of a realised eschatological standpoint had been previously anticipated by E. von Dobschütz.

CHAPTER FIVE

ADOLF DEISSMANN

Adolf Deissmann's concept of the Pauline eschatology is very much dominated by his understanding of the Pauline mysticism, an aspect of Paul's teaching which Dodd also readily acknowledged.¹ Dodd acknowledged that Paul was initially an apocalyptic eschatologist, believing in the imminent return of the Lord; however, as time passed, he became more and more aware of the presence of eternal life here and now through one's communion with Christ. This has been referred to by Dodd as the transformation of eschatology into mysticism.²

Deissmann's study of the Pauline eschatology does not deny the peculiar dynamic tension that exists in the mind of the apostle between the consciousness of the present possession and the expectation of future possession. This is certainly true of Paul's concept of justification, redemption and adoption. Those who have already been justified, redeemed, and adopted will still await full justification and adoption, and will look forward for the redemption of the body (Rom. 8:23) and the 'Day of Redemption' which is still before them.³ However, on the other hand, Paul's thought has come to accommodate/

1. C.H. Dodd, Meaning of Paul, p. 129; Romans, pp. 87-88, 122-123; Apostolic Preaching, pp. 145ff.
2. C.H. Dodd, 'Mind of Paul ii', p. 113; Apostolic Preaching, pp. 149f.
3. A. Deissmann, Paul, p. 174; Religion, pp. 211-212, 218-219; cf. C.H. Dodd, Romans, pp. 71-72, 77, 131-135.

accommodate more and more the reality of the present salvation and redemption, the presence of the new age now, through his so-called Christ-mysticism. The development from eschatology to mysticism is the essence of Dodd's understanding of the Pauline eschatology. Adolf Deissmann also emphasises the Christ-mysticism as central in Pauline thought, and this mysticism represents for the apostle the spiritual presence now of Christ among his believers. According to Deissmann, Paul understands Christ as the Son of God, 'highly exalted' (Phil. 2:9, ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν) to the Father, who dwells in heaven above 'at the right hand'¹ of God in glory, Christ who 'is coming' soon to earth as Judge.² This assurance of Paul about Christ and his future coming according to Deissmann has a very strong Jewish character and, it is suggested, was especially influenced by Psalm 110. The purpose of speaking about Christ in such a way was an assurance of the transcendence of Christ. In a more Pauline phrase, and therefore historically more correctly, it is called the assurance of the 'highly exalted' Christ; however, later it gave very strong stimulus to a dogma of a Second Advent of Christ.³ However, according to Deissmann, what is even more characteristic of Paul is that which exhibits more the Hellenistic mystical tendency of/

1. Influence of Psalm 110:1; see Colossians 3:1; Ephesians 1:20; Romans 8:34.

2. N.B. the many references of Paul to the Parousia.

3. Deissmann, Paul, pp. 137-138.

of the experience of Christ: the living Christ is the Pneuma.¹ It may be true that Deissmann and Dodd may vary slightly in their interpretation of what the Christ-mysticism means;² however, this does not undermine the consequent implication, that what was always considered as futuristic could now be experienced through one's communion with the living Christ.

For Deissmann, Paul's religious experience is Christo-centric. It is fellowship with Christ (1 Cor. 1:9; 10:16; Phil. 3:10), a Christ intimacy. Paul lives 'in Christ', in the living and present spiritual Christ, who is about him on all sides, who fills him (Gal. 2:20), who speaks to him (2 Cor. 12:9), and speaks in and through him (2 Cor. 13:3). Christ is for Paul not a person of the past with whom he can only come into contact by meditating on the words that have been handed down from him, not simply a 'historical personage', but a reality and power of the present, and an 'energy' (Phil. 3:21; Col. 1:29; Eph. 1:19) whose life-giving powers are daily expressing themselves in him (2 Cor. 12:9; Phil. 3:10; 1 Cor. 1:24; 5:4), and to whom since that day at Damascus he has felt a personal cult dependence.³

1. Ibid.

2. A. Deissmann's understanding of the Pauline mysticism is more personal and individualistic. Dodd acknowledges this sense of mysticism, but at the same time points out the corporate nature of Paul's mysticism - i.e. the individual is at the same time a member of the Body of Christ, the Church.

3. Deissmann, Paul, pp. 135-136.

The mysticism of Paul according to Deissmann is founded upon the conviction that Christ is alive.¹ The believer in Christ experiences the presence of the living Christ. Also, through this mystical fellowship of the Christian with Christ, the cross has become, instead of a historical conception, altogether a spiritual, mystically realised and living reality.² For Deissmann, Paul is not a characteristic figure in the history of theology, but in the history of religion. His importance lies essentially in the fact that 'being wholly unrabbinic and wholly pre-dogmatic, he planted the living roots of religion in the spiritually present person of the living Lord, Jesus Christ. This he did not by any new artifices of speculative theology, but by the power of his experience of Christ.'³ St. Paul's contemplation of Christ proceeds from his own experience of Christ and is nourished by the spiritual strength of the present Christ.⁴ In the words of Deissmann himself, 'St. Paul sees piercingly into a heaven full of the Living Presence. Even the cross, as viewed by the apostle, is not a bald, lifeless 'fact' in the past, but a portion of the living present.'⁵ Deissmann does not deny the truth of the future and what is yet to come, however at the same time/

1. Ibid., p. 199.

2. Ibid., pp. 202-203.

3. A. Deissmann, Light, p. 388.

4. Ibid., pp. 388-389.

5. Ibid.

time he is fully aware of the fact that Paul, through his Christ-mysticism, is able to speak with certainty of the presence of the Lord now. Dodd's understanding reflected the same conviction. For him, Paul was a mystic, and all his mystical experiences had a personal object. It was Jesus Christ, a real living person, historic, yet not of the past alone; divine, yet not alien from humanity. Paul's use of the term 'in Christ' or 'in Christ Jesus' reminds us of the intimate union with Christ which makes the Christian life an eternal life lived in the midst of time.¹ The Christ-mysticism of Paul therefore brings into realisation here and now already the heights and depths of the supernatural which were originally meant for the future.

Deissmann understands Paul's mysticism in terms of 'reaction mysticism', a reaction of the Christian to what God had already done and revealed through Jesus Christ, and in its nature 'Christ-intimacy, a mysticism of fellowship, not of oneness with its object, ethical not indifferent, but in the highest degree active - this mysticism, though centred in Christ, did not exclude the living God, but rather disclosed Him as Holy Love, and secured access to His redemptive and recreative grace'.² Paul's Christ-intimacy is of significance to his understanding of eschatology; with its decisive confessions to the Christ's presence and coming, who is the crucified Jesus, it made both past and future present.

1. Dodd, Meaning of Paul, p. 129.

2. Deissmann, Paul, pp. 255-256.

The expression *ἐν Χριστῷ* is one of Paul's most characteristic formulations, and its precise meaning has been vigorously debated.¹

One of Deissmann's major contributions to Pauline scholarship was that he brought the theological significance of the phrase to the attention of the scholarly world by emphasising its 'mystical' dimension.

Deissmann, who traces Hellenistic influences here, says that the formula describes the 'most intimate fellowship imaginable of the Christian with the living spiritual Christ. Just as the air we breath is in us and fills us, and yet we also live and breath in the air, so is Paul's fellowship with Christ.'² Basic to Deissmann's

interpretation is the identification of Christ and the Spirit (2 Cor. 3:17). The 'Spirit of Christ' has a body that is not earthly or material, but consists of divine effulgence.³ The Spirit of Christ is the Christian's new environment. It was understood to be the light ethereal substance that, like air, could fill the believer and in which the believer had his existence.⁴ Such an interpretation of Pauline mysticism is very much in line with Hellenistic mysticism,⁵ and in/

1. One of the best surveys is that of E. Best, One Body in Christ, London, 1955, pp. 8-19; also A. Wikenhauser, Pauline Mysticism, 1956 (original 1928), pp. 95ff.
2. A.M. Hunter, Interpreting the New Testament 1900-1950, London, 1951, p. 74.
3. Deissmann, Paul, p. 142.
4. Ibid., pp. 137-149.
5. Cf. R. Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen: ihre Grundgedanken und Wirkungen, Leipzig, 1909, translated: Hellenistic Mystery Religions: their basic ideas and significance, Pittsburg, 1978; W. Bousset, Kyrios Christos, New York, 1970 (original 1921); R. Bultmann, Theology i, London, 1952, pp. 121-132; J. Weiss, Primitive Christianity ii, pp. 405, 464; H. Ridderbos, Paul, An Outline of His Theology, London, 1975, p. 59.

in decisive contrast to that of A. Schweitzer.

Deissmann's central contention, namely, that the basic meaning of $\epsilon\nu\ \chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ is one of mystical fellowship, has been accepted by many scholars. It designates conscious communion with Christ.¹ Other scholars, of whom Dodd is one, do not deny the fundamental truth of Deissmann's view of personal mysticism, but point out that there are many passages that have a collective emphasis. 'In Christ' is practically equivalent to being 'in the Church'.² Believers are 'in Christ' not only as individuals, but as a people (1 Cor. 4:15; Rom. 12:5; Gal. 3:28; Eph. 3:6; Col. 1:12). Despite the difference of emphasis between Deissmann and Dodd as regards the Pauline mysticism, yet the significance of the mystical union of the believer (as an individual or as a member of the Body of Christ) with Christ as indicating the presence now of that which is anticipated in the future still remains.

Both Deissmann and Dodd acknowledged the tension in the mind of Paul between present possession and future fulfilment, and this was clearly portrayed by Paul's concept of redemption, justification, adoption, etc. However, at the same time Dodd, like Deissmann, sees the realisation of the future age to come and all blessings now/

1. See Wikenhauser, op.cit., pp. 25ff.; J. Stewart, A Man in Christ, London, 1935, pp. 158ff. (Stewart takes this as the centre of the Pauline theology); C.A.A. Scott, Christianity according to St. Paul, 1927, Cambridge, pp. 153f.; E. Andrews, The Meaning of Christ for Paul, New York, 1949, p. 83; W.D. Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, p. 87.
2. R.N. Flew, op.cit., p. 152; C.H. Dodd, Romans, pp. 82ff.; W.D. Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, p. 86; C.A.A. Scott, op.cit., pp. 151ff.

now, through the Christian's union with the living Christ - the one who died and now is alive and present. This Pauline mysticism which both men acknowledged clearly revealed the existence of a realised eschatology in the teaching of the apostle. Deissmann sees this as only part of the Pauline eschatology which is yet to be fully consummated in the future.¹ Dodd fully saw the eschatological dimension of the Pauline mysticism and he further emphasised the realised character of Pauline eschatology by his reference to the significance of the events of Christ's death and resurrection for the eschatology of Paul. According to Dodd, in addition to sayings that can be interpreted mystically and ecclesiologically, there are numerous statements in Paul's writings involving objective facts stating what God had done in Christ. Such statements cannot be subsumed under either mystical or ecclesiological categories (Eph. 1:4, 7; Rom. 3:24; 1 Cor. 1:2; 5:19; Gal. 2:17; Eph. 2:12; 4:32; 2 Tim. 2:10; Rom. 9:1; 15:17; 1 Cor. 4:17; Phil. 1:13; 1 Thess. 4:16). The events that these statements imply have ushered in the supernatural age in the present, signifying the presence already of the final end.² The death and resurrection of Jesus were eschatological events, affecting the transition from this age to the age to come. Believers could take advantage of this transition, but the transference from one age to the other could only take place 'in Christ'. Thus for Dodd, the mystical/

1. A. Deissmann, Light, p. 389; Paul, pp. 170, 216; Religion, pp. 211-212.

2. For further understanding of the term 'in Christ' in this sense see E. Best, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

mystical union of the Christians with Christ is made possible only because of the fact that the Kingdom of God is already here. Christ is the inclusive representative of the redeemed humanity, and 'in Christ' through faith the believer is incorporated into the Body of Christ.¹ By virtue of the presence already of the Kingdom of God on earth, Paul therefore could speak with certainty of the consequences of his Christ mysticism. By it, the Christians could live, experience, and enjoy the life of the age to come now.

Close similarity is to be acknowledged with regard to Pauline eschatology between the ideas of 'Christ-mysticism' of Deissmann and the later ones of Dodd. Both Dodd and Deissmann would agree that Paul's idea of a Christian communion with the living Christ indicates that salvation, the new age that the Jews had been looking forward to in the future, is already here, and could be experienced through one's fellowship with Christ. For Deissmann, this already present character of the Pauline eschatology is only a part of that which is yet to be fulfilled in the future. For Dodd, the futuristic emphasis of his earlier eschatology is gradually replaced by this Christ-mysticism. The hope of glory yet to come remains as a background of thought, but the foreground is more and more occupied by the contemplation of all the riches of divine grace enjoyed here and now by those who are in Christ Jesus (Eph. 1:3).² Thus eternal life, or the life of the age/

1. C.H. Dodd, Romans, p. 86. See also earlier section on C.H. Dodd and A. Schweitzer in Part One.
2. C.H. Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 149.

age to come, is now realised in experience.¹ Therefore Dodd could say that 'it is in the epistles of Paul that full justice is done for the first time to the principle of 'realised eschatology'.²

Another similarity of importance between Deissmann and Dodd, concerns the place of ethics in their interpretation of the Pauline mysticism. For Deissmann as also for Dodd, ethics is an integral part of the believer's communion with Christ. Deissmann shows that the history of mysticism indicates that acting mystics have as ethical subjects often been most inactive, and that reacting mystics, like Paul, as ethical subjects have often been uncommonly active.³ Deissmann argues that what we call mysticism Paul called faith, and what we call ethics Paul called love.⁴ The store of ethical convictions which Paul brought with him from Judaism and the Hellenistic world, and which was very greatly increased by Gospel traditions acquires its real brilliance through the experience of communion with Christ.⁵ This concern for ethics is closely followed by Dodd, who indicated that, while Paul's reflection upon the saving facts of the death and resurrection of Christ leads him to the love of God as the supreme principle exhibited in these facts, it is his/

1. Ibid., p. 213.

2. Ibid., p. 154.

3. A. Deissmann, Religion, pp. 247-248. See: 1 Cor. 14:17, 18; 8:1; 1 Cor. 13.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p. 251.

his reflection upon the Spirit and the charismata, or the gift of the Spirit in the Church that leads him to love or charity as at once the greatest of all charismata, 'the love of God shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit given to us' (Rom. 5:5), and the root principle of all morality.¹ The true supernatural life now brought into being by Christ is the life distinguished by the 'fruits of the Spirit' as described in Galatians 5:20, and exhibiting the dispositions set forth in the hymn of charity in 1 Corinthians 13.²

Deissmann's exposition of Jesus' eschatology closely followed his understanding of Pauline eschatological teaching. He indicated that the Kingdom of God is not merely a future hope but also a present reality. Deissmann acknowledges that Jesus had moments in which he speaks of the Kingdom as already present. Such moments Deissmann refers to as Jesus' moments of prophetic certainty.³ Moments in which Jesus sees with clear certainty the presence of the rule of God, and the hope of the Kingdom in him and what he was doing.⁴ Deissmann does not deny the futuristic element in the teaching of Jesus about the Kingdom; but at the same time he acknowledges that the great majority of the sayings about the Kingdom refer to its coming. Jesus/

1. C.H. Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 154; 'Ethics', pp. 308-312.
2. Apostolic Preaching, p. 154.
3. Deissmann's manner of speaking of the presence in Jesus' teaching is very different and in contrast to the way C.H. Dodd anticipates the presence of the Kingdom of God in Jesus' teaching and deeds.
4. A. Deissmann, Religion, p. 115.

Jesus certainly believed that God already ruled the world as King, but he expected a quite special act of God by which the definite Kingdom of God would be set up in the world. In moments of special prophetic insight, he occasionally saw his coming Kingdom as if it were already present. The expression ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται (Luke 17:21), 'within you', means 'in the midst of you' and Jesus here thinks, in that moment of highest prophetic insight, of himself as the already present, visible representative of the Kingdom of God.¹

The question whether in the consciousness of Jesus, the messiahship was regarded as something still in the future is dependent upon the answering of the question whether the Kingdom of God is present or future. In general, the messianic consciousness, like the message of the Kingdom of God, referred to the future. But in moments of especial inspiration he experienced this future Messiahship as already present.²

Deissmann therefore strongly affirms the polarity of the thought of the Kingdom according to Jesus. The Kingdom of God is not something finished and ready for us, but an immense task for the present and future. The Kingdom is here already, and yet it is still to come.³ C.H. Dodd's exposition of Jesus' eschatology departs from that of Deissmann in that he emphatically emphasised the 'present' character of the Kingdom of God brought about by Jesus' first coming/

1. Deissmann, Religion, pp. 117, 121.

2. Ibid., p. 140.

3. Ibid., p. 121.

coming, his teaching, and especially his death and resurrection, leaving no room for any futuristic elements in Jesus' teaching. However, as previously indicated, Dodd's original thesis was later modified, allowing room for a futuristic aspect of Jesus' teaching.¹

Deissmann speaks of the Kingdom of God as not simply a matter of the other world, but as a new condition of affairs in this world produced by the power of the other world.² The other-worldly conditions which have always been reserved for the future can now be experienced in this world. Such an understanding of the Kingdom of God recalls Dodd's attempt to explain some of the futuristic elements in Jesus' teaching by indicating that these were only but a literary device designed by the early Church or the evangelists to explain the transcendent or other-worldly character of the Kingdom of God which is already here and present in this world. What has been anticipated by the Jews to come in the future could be experienced now. The age to come has come. The phrase of John 18:36; ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐκ τούτου κόσμου τούτου according to Deissmann means that the origin of the Kingdom of God is not from this world but from the other world, and this implies that the Kingdom of God is to come from the world of God into this world. Such a state according to Dodd can be said of the present, since the transcendent had already entered the realm conditioned by space and time.

1. C.H. Dodd, The Coming, pp. 8ff.

2. A. Deissmann, Religion, p. 121.

Undoubtedly, some important aspects of C.H. Dodd's interpretation of the eschatology of Paul and of Jesus were anticipated by A. Deissmann. Deissmann's interpretation of the Pauline faith in terms of the mystical union with Christ is of significance to Dodd's exposition of the Pauline eschatology, as a movement from a futuristic standpoint to that of realised eschatology - from eschatology to mysticism. Dodd, of course, had extended the mystical union within the realm of the Church, the Body of Christ, but its implications for eschatology still remain. Deissmann's interpretation of Jesus' eschatological teaching indicated a polarity of the present and the future. He sees the Kingdom of God as much as a future entity as it was a present reality. Jesus in moments of prophetic certainty sees the Kingdom as present now in him and what he was doing. This aspect was greatly appreciated by C.H. Dodd who later on carried it much further at the expense of its future fulfilment. For Dodd, the beyond has already entered the present world, and therefore the transcendent form of existence could be experienced even now.¹

1. Cf. Deissmann, Religion, p. 113.

CHAPTER SIX

RUDOLF OTTO

The ideas of Rudolf Otto concerning the Kingdom of God in Jesus' teaching set out in his book The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man were to a large extent influential in Dodd's initial development of his thesis of 'realised eschatology'. Dodd acknowledged his indebtedness to Otto,¹ who showed that certain Gospel passages usually interpreted as a 'mere expectation that the Kingdom of God must come soon' in fact point to it as a fact of present experience. Unlike Dodd, Otto did not develop a fully realised eschatological concept of the Kingdom of God as portrayed by Jesus' sayings, his parables, and by his whole ministry. However, he acknowledged that in some ways the Kingdom was thought of as present fact. God was even now king over all his people (1 Chron. 29:11ff.). But at the same time, it was also a hope for the future, when God would really be king over all the world (Zech. 14:9; Is. 24:23).

Basic to Otto's understanding of the Kingdom of God is his concept of the 'holy'.² Two words 'supernatural' or 'supramundane' have been used to indicate the 'wholly other' character of that/

1. C.H. Dodd, Parables, pp. 38, 49, 79, etc.
2. R. Otto, Leben und Wirken Jesu nach historisch-kritischer Auffassung, Gottingen, 1902, p. 43. (This work was later translated into English under the title Life and Ministry of Jesus according to the Historical and Critical Method, Chicago, 1908.)

that Kingdom which is expected. The Kingdom of God belongs to the eschatological order which points to a world and the condition and content of a world which, as a 'wholly other' form of existence, do away with and surpass everything humanly conceivable, and thereby all earthly existence and circumstances. As categories of existence, they correspond to the categories of value, 'to be justified', 'to be sanctified', and both are embraced in the symbolic terms 'to be reborn, to be renewed, spiritual existence, the resurrection state'.¹

According to Otto, the inner logic which binds the elements of existence with the elements of value is this, that holiness and righteousness are not possible in the present, earthly, fleshly, worldly existence, or in an existence and situation of an earthly kind. Holiness and righteousness are not possible in an earthly form of existence, but only in the wholly other form of existence which God will give; they are not possible in this age, but only in a new age, they are not possible in the world but only in heaven, and in the Kingdom of heaven; this idea is the hidden mainspring in the formation of eschatological as distinct from merely messianic conceptions.²

In the light of the words of Jesus that 'heaven and earth shall pass away', and of the conception of a life 'in the resurrection' which is not a mere vivification of dead bodies but a 'lifting up' to a spiritual supramundane existence, Otto could say that such nature/

1. R. Otto, Kingdom of God, p. 49.

2. Ibid.

nature of the Kingdom is present in Jesus' own teaching.¹ Otto could see this character of Jesus' teaching about the Kingdom, veiled in the simplest of apocalyptic conceptions such as 'those of the great messianic banquet, the existence of angels, the sitting upon thrones and the judging of Israel'.² This certainly recalls Dodd's understanding of future apocalyptic elements in Jesus' teaching as merely symbolic of the transcendent and other-worldly nature of the Kingdom of God.

Otto's interpretation of the Kingdom of God idea inevitably included a temporal opposition between now and then. It asserted that the eschatological order is outside the sphere of time. However, what is of importance and of interest in Otto's exposition is the fact, not only that the Kingdom of God is a spiritual, supramundane, transcendent form of existence which is beyond this temporal world and time, but that at the same time he acknowledges that this Kingdom has already come. Closely connected with the idea of the Kingdom is the idea of the dynamis, a supernatural, wonderful, coercive, and operative power from above.³ This dynamis according to Otto appeared most decidedly in Jesus' idea of the basileia, and in his own activity.

One of the key-passages mentioned by Otto is Mark 1:14-15, the very passage which is also central in Dodd's exposition of his/

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 55.

his 'realised eschatology'.¹ Otto uses the expression, 'the Kingdom of God already breaking in'. With A. Schweitzer, Otto maintains that the Kingdom of God is an eschatological idea, but argues as Schweitzer did not that the Kingdom is already present and active in the ministry of Jesus. Otto sees in this passage the contrast of the messages between Jesus and John the Baptist. The profound difference is represented by the phrases, 'the judgement of wrath is coming', and 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand'.² Jesus brought the saving Gospel of the coming Kingdom of God instead of a message of the day of Yahweh. In so doing, he made use of ideas belonging to the sphere of apocalyptic. But he ranged far beyond them by an idea which was entirely unique and peculiar to him, that the 'Kingdom, supramundane, future, and belonging to a new era, has penetrated from the future into the present, from its place in the beyond into this order, and was operative redemptively as a divine dynamis, as an inbreaking realm of salvation'.³ For Otto, the Kingdom of God is the 'transcendental domain of salvation, it is purely a coming and future reality, and precisely as such on the point of breaking in; indeed already in the process of breaking in; mysterious, imperceptible, but/

1. Ibid., p. 44.

2. R. Otto, Kingdom of God, pp. 69-70.

3. Ibid., p. 72; cf. Dodd's idea of the Kingdom of God as something transcendent beyond this earthly and temporal world and outside time, which is already present in the coming of Jesus ('Eschatological Element', p. 21; 'The This-Worldly Kingdom', pp. 258-259; Parables, pp. 107-108).

but visible to the blessed eyes'.¹

Otto and Dodd both acknowledged the presence of the Kingdom of God in the preaching and teaching of Jesus. They both disagreed with the assumption that the concept of the presence already of the Kingdom was a later invention of the early Church initiated by the delay and non-fulfilment of Jesus' parousia. As Otto puts it, 'when one came who roused the masses with the message, "the Kingdom of God has come", who let men know that in his own work the dynamis of the Kingdom was already breaking in, who finally confessed in response to judicial inquiry that he himself claimed to be the ruler of his empire, such a one had to be nailed to the cross by the Roman magistrates. Conversely, he was nailed to the cross because he was really such a claimant and was not made one later by the theology of the Church.'² Jesus preached, 'The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand' (Mark 1:15). The Kingdom of God has come near. So near that one is tempted to express it as 'it is present, from its futurity it already extends its operation into the present'.³

1. R. Otto, Kingdom of God, p. 57; cf. A. von Harnack and E. von Dobschütz: both these acknowledged the Kingdom as something which is already present now, but could be experienced only by those who have faith and trust in God. The Kingdom is not something external, eudaemonistic, or political, but rather something which could be experienced at present by only those who are able to see it through faith; i.e. 'the Kingdom of God is within you', (cf. Parables, pp. 84-85).

2. R. Otto, Kingdom of God, p. 58.

3. Ibid., p. 59.

R. Otto, though he speaks with emphatic certainty of the presence of the Kingdom in Jesus' teaching, yet at the same time acknowledges that Jesus like ancient prophets had uttered prophecies which of necessity pointed to a certain interval of time.¹ The Son of Man will come, will appear, but when? It will certainly be soon, very soon. However, even the Son knows nothing concerning this hour. Otto indicates that, despite the paradox of the Kingdom already present and yet to come in the future, Jesus' preaching did not imply an 'interim ethic' effective only within this short period before the final consummation of the Kingdom. In fact his preaching of righteousness was full of content and drew manifold examples from political life and concrete situations; it presupposed life and time and duration. For Otto, Jesus' preaching did not imply a situation of a 'last brief hour' before the end of the world in which there was only just time for a quick conversion; instead, Jesus' whole ministry, his preaching and teaching, anticipated lasting relationships and attitudes.²

In an earlier book,³ R. Otto clearly portrayed the essential presence of the Kingdom of God in Jesus' ministry. He indicated that 'Jesus' entire ministry was without that impatient expectation so characteristic of John the Baptist. On the contrary, it was pervaded/

1. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

2. Kingdom of God, p. 61.

3. Life and Ministry of Jesus (original 1901).

pervaded by a sense of the most blessed possession'.¹ He further indicated that the Kingdom was no longer designated as an inheritance yet to come, but it was silently being transformed into an entirely new significance, into that of an 'internal condition, an internal possession, a fortune already possessed, a rule of God already active, a community of equals, redeemed and God-serving, already present'.² Otto in this his early work also dealt with Jesus' concept of the Kingdom as at hand and operating in advance. It is obvious that this character had originated in those experiences of the eschatological order which was already in operation and already breaking in. According to Otto, for Jesus the concept of a purely and strictly future thing passes over into that of something working even now, 'in your midst'.³ The Kingdom of God is on the one hand the wholly transcendent, primarily future thing to which the community of the new covenant look forward in hopeful expectation.⁴ But on the other side, even in the Gospels, we read 'the Kingdom of God is among you'.⁵ In/

1. Ibid., p. 73.

2. Ibid., p. 74.

3. Ibid., pp. 75f.; also Kingdom of God, p. 73.

4. Cf. Dodd's interpretation of the futuristic utterances of Jesus as only symbolic of the transcendent character of the Kingdom of God which is beyond time and space.

5. E. von Dobschütz, Eschatology, pp. 129ff.; translates 'within you' meaning the inwardness of the Kingdom which could be experienced now; cf. also A. von Harnack, Christianity, p. 232. However, R. Otto, Kingdom of God, p. 74, translates it 'among you'. Even though Otto's translation does not imply the inwardness of the Kingdom as the major point here, yet Otto still maintains the character of the Kingdom as inward, implicit, and present; 'among you' implies the ante-dating of the transcendent Kingdom in the present.

In other words, the transcendent is already throwing its mysterious shadows ahead; it is there working secretly and quietly as a secret power in the germinating faith of the first community; it renews and transforms, and gives 'peace and joy in the Holy Spirit'.¹ R. Otto like A. von Harnack and E. von Dobschütz understands the presence of the Kingdom as something implicit and not external, something which only a few could see and experience; i.e. only those who believe and have faith could inwardly experience the present impact of the Kingdom.² C.H. Dodd followed the same idea of the Kingdom of God as inward and implicit, making its presence felt now to those who are able to see and hear it.

Otto's exposition of the Beelzebub controversy (Luke 11:20-21) strongly favours the idea 'that the Kingdom has already come through Jesus' first coming': ἄρ' ἐφθασεν ἡ βασιλεία, 'then the Kingdom has come'. According to Otto, the phrase was intended to prove a thesis which Jesus had propounded long before, and which had been as much doubted as his working by the finger of God. The word αὐτῷ introduces, like our 'really' or 'actually', an assertion which/

1. R. Otto, Kingdom of God, p. 73.
2. R. Otto criticised B.W. Bacon's exposition of the parables in Mark 4 as too explicit, but at the same time agreed that what later became explicit in the spirit-centred life was first given implicitly here, in the experience of the eschatological order as effective and powerful in its anticipative formula, 'the day is at hand'. Otto agreed also with Bacon that such an idea of the Kingdom as an omnipotent power already silently at work is not that of current Jewish conceptions (nor is it of John); in fact Jesus' doctrine of the Kingdom was new, distinctive and different (see R. Otto, Kingdom of God, p. 74; B.W. Bacon, The Story of Jesus and the Beginnings of the Church, New York, 1929, p. 212).

which is brought to the forefront. It means 'accordingly what was asserted is correct'. In the present instance, it means 'therefore what I teach and what I have taught, i.e. the Kingdom of God has come, is correct'.¹ Consequently, the Kingdom of God has come through Jesus' activity.

'Nicht Jesus "bringt" das Reich - eine Vorstellung, die Jesu selber ganz fremd ist - sondern das Reich "bringt" ihn mit.'² According to Otto, Jesus did not bring the Kingdom, instead the Kingdom brings him with it. The emphasis here is not so much on Jesus as it is on God who achieved the first great divine victory over Satan. Jesus' own activity lies in, and is carried forward by, the tidal wave of divine victory. Therefore, in the power of the divine victory over the armed strong man, Jesus himself now works 'by the finger of God' or 'by the spirit of God', i.e. dynamis, exousia, charis, charisma. This dynamis of his, is nothing other than the dynamis of the Kingdom, the Kingdom as dynamis. And this charisma and charismatic activity of his is nothing other and nothing less than the Kingdom itself. C.H. Dodd, who followed Otto, acknowledged the/

1. R. Otto, Kingdom of God, pp. 102-103; cf. C.H. Dodd, Parables, p. 45. In Jewish thought the end of the Kingdom of Satan is associated with the coming of the Kingdom of God (e.g. Testament of Dan. 5:12-13; 6:1-7). In the 'Q' context from which these words come (according to A. von Harnack, Sayings of Jesus, pp. 23ff.) the exorcisms of Jesus are treated as a sign that the Kingdom of Satan has been overcome.
2. R. Otto, Reich Gottes und Menschensohn, Munchen, 1934, p. 80; Kingdom of God, p. 103.

the idea.¹ Jesus is sent by the Father, who in sending him causes his Kingdom to come. Jesus does not bring the Kingdom, but he himself, according to the most certain of his utterances, is in his actions the personal manifestation of the inbreaking divine power. Thus, Otto could say that Jesus was by no means a mere eschatological preacher who originated certain thought complexes; rather his person and work were part of a comprehensive redemptive event which broke in with him and which he called the coming and actual arrival of the Kingdom of God. Otto's exposition of this Beelzebub controversy with its emphasis on the actual arrival of the Kingdom through Jesus' exorcisms has been closely followed by Dodd in his exposition of 'realised eschatology'.² For Dodd, the controversy points out two things:

1. the ministry of Jesus is an eschatological event;
- ii. the ministry is the coming of the Kingdom of God.³

In Matthew 11:12-13 / Luke 16:16 Otto identifies the phrase *ἡ βασιλεία ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ* (Matt. 11:12) with the phrase in the Beelzebub controversy; *ἀπὸ ἐφθάρσεν ἐφ' ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* indicating that it signifies the presence of the Kingdom; i.e. the Kingdom is already exercising its force. Otto points out the contrast between John the Baptist's message and that of Jesus himself. 'The message of the coming Kingdom was more direct and much more/

1. C.H. Dodd, Parables, p. 45.
2. Ibid., pp. 45, 123f.
3. Ibid., p. 124.

more energetic in John. The message of Jesus referred to present salvation, the salvation of divine sonship.¹ Matthew 11:12 is part of the discourse in which Christ speaks of John, pays him high honour, and at the same time makes the sharp distinction between everything previous, including John, and that new and unheard of thing which is breaking in. The saying signifies a change of eras as does also the clause in the Beelzebub passage which clearly implies 'already'.² However, in this phrase, 'ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βιάζεται' (Matt. 11:12), 'the Kingdom exercises force', Otto acknowledges that, although the Kingdom is already present, yet it is not present in its completeness, but its working can be detected. It still awaits its full revelation, but in its preliminary dawning it is already present with mighty preparations. This is the very characteristic of the period 'from the days of John until now, i.e. the period of Jesus, the Kingdom works and exercises its force. It is not yet present itself, but it was present as a power effective in advance.'³

In Mark 3:31ff (the Parable of the Mustard Seed) Otto's interpretation again strongly upholds the breaking in and presence of the Kingdom of God through Jesus' person and ministry. He understands the Kingdom of God as an eschatological sphere of salvation, which breaks in, makes a small unpretentious beginning/

1. R. Otto, Life and Ministry of Jesus, p. 75.
2. R. Otto, Kingdom of God, pp. 69, 108ff.; cf. E. von Dobschütz, Eschatology, p. 134; C.H. Dodd, Parables, pp. 48f.
3. Kingdom of God, p. 109.

beginning, but continues to grow and expand. The point of importance was to perceive in this external phenomenon a secret process, the transcendent becoming an event in history, to trace behind and in the empirical facts the mystery of the Kingdom as already operative, and already growing, to be aroused to a personal experience of it all.¹

Matthew 13:44-46 is an old and original saying of Jesus which has indeed been preserved in this passage, but its original meaning is in process of submersion. Moreover, the passage speaks of the Kingdom as already operative, an aspect of the Kingdom which was not understood at a later period. In Luke 17:20-21 Otto translates 'ἐν τῷ ἑσθίῳ' as 'the Kingdom of God is in your midst'. Otto's translation varies from Harnack's, von Dobschütz's, and Dodd's translation of 'the Kingdom of God is within you'.² Otto maintains that this phrase is closely connected with the Beelzebub passage's phrase 'ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐλθὼν', 'has come upon you', and therefore could be correctly translated to mean that the 'Kingdom of God is already present in the midst of you'.³ According to Otto, in the phrase 'ἐν τῷ ἑσθίῳ ἐσθίῳ', the fact has long been pointed out that in Aramaic, the copula can designate the future as well as the present; 'the Kingdom will be among/

1. Kingdom of God, p. 124; Life and Ministry of Jesus, pp. 74-75.
2. A. von Harnack, Christianity, p. 61; E. von Dobschütz, Eschatology, pp. 129-132; G.H. Dodd, Parables, pp. 84-85; R. Otto, Life and Ministry of Jesus, pp. 74-75.
3. K.L. Schmidt, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, London, 1957, p. 587. Schmidt points out that such a statement has its point solely in the rejection of the calculation of omens. For criticism of Schmidt, see Otto's Kingdom of God, pp. 132ff.

among you'. Otto prefers the present since it would be superfluous to translate it as future, since that aspect of the Kingdom was already understood by the people of the time. It is rather the present aspect of the Kingdom that was soon forgotten.¹

Rudolf Otto, as previously pointed out, is by no means an exponent of a fully realised eschatology. He understands Jesus' teaching about the Kingdom as indicating two contrasted aspects of the one reality. Jesus like his opponents knew the future Kingdom, that it would come, that God kept the moment in reserve, that one should be specially attentive as soon as the indications of its coming appeared, and that one should then know that it was near. The whole of this referred to the future.² On the other hand, the Kingdom was already moving and so already present, in so far as it worked secretly in advance.³ For Jesus, the Kingdom was always purely transcendent, and only fully so when it descended with its dynamis, broke into the world sphere, and thus was 'in the midst of you'.

The emphasis that Otto laid on the 'present aspect' of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus was previously acknowledged by men like A. von Harnack, E. von Dobschütz, and A. Deissmann. Basic texts in their exposition of the realised aspect of the Kingdom were of no minor significance to Dodd who thirty years later/

1. Kingdom of God, p. 135.

2. Ibid., p. 136.

3. Ibid.

later propounded a thesis which gave priority completely to the presence of the Kingdom in the ministry of Jesus, shunning any hint of a futuristic Kingdom. The basic idea of the Kingdom as a transcendent, supermundane entity belonging only to the other-worldly era, and yet already having come into this world through the person and ministry of Jesus, a concept which is Platonic in its tone, and unanimously expounded by these early German scholars, is one of Dodd's fundamental key-notes in his 'realised eschatology'. How much of Dodd's thesis was originally his, and how much was taken from these scholars' earlier works is hard to assess with certainty. Dodd had acknowledged indebtedness to Rudolf Otto's work. However, unlike Otto who accepted both the future and the realised aspect of the Kingdom in Jesus' first coming and teaching, Dodd's exposition emphasised only the 'realised' aspect of Jesus' eschatology, in his teaching and his whole ministry. Consequently, Otto, like A. von Harnack, E. von Dobschütz, and A. Deissmann could not be classified as exponents of a fully 'realised' eschatology in the sense Dodd later on advocated.

PART THREE

THE FOLLOWERS OF C.H. DODD

B. Rigaux in his article¹ suggests that T.F. Glasson and J.A.T. Robinson extended Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology' to the Pauline epistles. It is important therefore that the names of T.F. Glasson and J.A.T. Robinson should be mentioned at this stage. Both scholars have been strong supporters of Dodd's eschatological interpretation in their works,² and therefore can rightly be classified as close followers of C.H. Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology'.

No evidence shows that T.F. Glasson has any personal contact with the scholar, however, his work has revealed substantial familiarity with Dodd's work and especially with his book on The Parables of the Kingdom. Dodd's exposition of the futuristic sayings of Jesus as well as the parables of the Kingdom have been used considerably by Glasson in his thesis, The Second Advent.³ As/

1. B. Rigaux, 'L'interpretation ...', pp. 30f.
2. T.F. Glasson, Advent; His Appearing; J.A.T. Robinson, In the End, God; London, 1950; The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology, London, 1952; His Coming.
3. The Second Advent was originally Glasson's Doctor of Divinity thesis in the University of London, 1943. However, due to the war, it was not published until 1945. T.F. Glasson later became lecturer in Divinity at New College, University of London. Advent, pp. 94, 127.

As such, many would refer to Glasson as one of Dodd's close pupils.¹

C.H. Dodd was certainly no stranger to J.A.T. Robinson who may have had personal contact with the Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, 1935-1945, as early as 1938 when he, Robinson, first entered Jesus College, Cambridge, as an undergraduate.² Robinson, who later on pursued a career as a lecturer in Divinity at Clare College, Cambridge, no doubt had frequent contact with C.H. Dodd who, after he retired, still remained in Cambridge. Robinson was one of the members of C.H. Dodd's weekly seminars at Cambridge.³ According to Dillistone, 'Robinson, usually quiet and taciturn, periodically interjected some sharp critical comment, revealing the quality of his developing powers'.⁴ Robinson even had occasion to correspond with Dodd within two years of his death in June 1972, during which he received counsel and criticism for his recent work Redating the New Testament.⁵

In dealing with the works of these two scholars, it is important to bear in mind a few questions concerning the relationships of their/

1. O. Cullmann, Salvation in History, pp. 34-35.
2. C.H. Dodd, who had never previously held a teaching post in Cambridge University, was, through the influence of his Cambridge friends Edwyn Hoskyns and J.M. Greed elected as a member of the Jesus College Society (Dillistone, op.cit., p. 146).
3. Some of the members included eminent scholars like J. Marsh, C.F.D. Moule, Wilfred Knox, R.N. Flew, David Daube, etc., etc.
4. Dillistone, op.cit., p. 151.
5. Ibid., pp. 234ff.; J.A.T. Robinson, Redating the New Testament, London, 1976, pp. 359-360.

their works to those of their predecessor. How close is Dodd's interpretation of Jesus' and Paul's eschatology to those of Glasson and Robinson? How much is Dodd's thesis being modified and developed by them? Is B. Rigaux correct in saying that it is only in the works of T.F. Glasson and J.A.T. Robinson that the 'realised eschatology' of Dodd is extended to include Pauline eschatology?¹ Were Glasson and Robinson simply reiterating Dodd's work? What relationship is there in their work between eschatology and ethics in both the teachings of Jesus and those of Paul? What contributions have they made (if any) in the development of the theory of 'realised eschatology'?

1. We must bear in mind the development of Dodd's 'realised eschatology' that we discussed earlier. It seems from a closer study of his earliest writings that Dodd's awareness of the importance of 'realised eschatology' as a term to explain Jesus' first coming and earthly ministry came through his closer study of the Pauline epistles and that of the early Christian preaching and teaching.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THOMAS FRANCIS GLASSON

T.F. Glasson's thesis denied that Jesus expected a Parousia; instead he expected a new state of things after his death, an expectation which was, in fact, fulfilled by Pentecost and the coming into being of the Church. For Glasson, the doctrine of the Parousia was read back into the tradition by the early Church, where it was derived from the 'Day of the Lord' passages in the Old Testament, making only one adjustment, that the Lord was the Lord Jesus Christ.¹ In support of his interpretation of the teaching of Jesus, Glasson discusses three things that are important to our discussion: the Parousia sayings themselves, Mark 14:62, and the crisis parables of Jesus.²

Like Dodd, Glasson sets out to try to explain away all the futuristic sayings of Jesus in the Gospels which may imply a reference to a future Second Coming of Christ. He argues that the references to the Parousia have been introduced into the Gospel tradition in the course of its transmission and that the references in the Synoptic apocalypses cannot be accepted, since it is widely/

1. Old Testament passages: Isaiah 2:10, 19, 21; 40:3; 42:13; 63:1-6; 66:15-18; Zech. 14:3-5; Ps. 50:3-6; 68:1-8; 82:8; 90:10, 13; Glasson, Advent, pp. 163ff., 171; N. Perrin, Kingdom of God, p. 136; Glasson, His Appearing, p. 11.
2. Glasson, Advent, pp. 72ff., 63ff., 90ff.; His Appearing, pp. 3ff.

widely held that these passages are secondary.¹ In most of these Parousia passages, Glasson closely follows Dodd's arguments in an attempt to alleviate any possible futuristic implications of the sayings. In references like Mark 9:1 / Matthew 16:28, Glasson suggested that the Parousia has here been introduced into a saying of Jesus which originally did not mention it.² According to Dodd, the saying in Mark 9:1 reflects the influence upon the sayings of Jesus of apocalyptic predictions of the future which were common among contemporary Jews. A comparison of Matthew 24:3 with Mark 13:4 shows that the former has added several apocalyptic touches to the saying. The term 'Parousia' seems to be peculiar to Matthew of the four Gospels. The saying in Mark 8:38 / Matthew 16:27 / Luke 9:26 also occurred in the 'Q' source (Matt. 10:32f. / Luke 12:8-9). These five passages are undoubtedly derived from the two sources, Mark and 'Q', and according to Glasson,³ 'it will be observed that in the "Q" form of the saying there is no mention of the Parousia and hardly anything that could be described as apocalyptic'. Glasson's conclusion is that the 'Q' sayings are closer to the original saying of Jesus, not because there is no mention of the Parousia, but because it is easier to account for the 'Q' saying being gradually changed to the Markan and Matthean version, than the/

1. Matt. 16:28 (cf. Mark 9:1); Matt. 24:42 (cf. Mark 13:33); Mark 8:38; 10:32 (cf. Luke 12:8f.).
2. Glasson, Advent, p. 72, cf. Dodd, Parables, pp. 42, 53, 85-86.
3. Advent, pp. 74-75.

the Markan to the 'Q' version.¹

The Little Apocalypse of Mark 13 (parallels in Matthew 24, and Luke 21) which contains several hints of Jesus' Parousia in the future has been carefully dealt with by Glasson. Attempts have been made to distinguish the inauthentic materials from the genuine words of Jesus. According to Glasson, most exegetes agree that some passages such as 13:9-13 are reminiscent of Jesus' words elsewhere. But it is precisely the other part about the Parousia and the end of the world which arouses most suspicion. The suggestion that Mark incorporated an early Christian apocalypse which contains such material that does not contain genuine utterances of Jesus is nevertheless accepted by many, including A. Schweitzer, who make the Parousia central in the teaching and thought of Jesus.²

Other futuristic sayings in the Gospels³ have been explained by Glasson as references to the political situation and the future downfall of Jerusalem.⁴ Another Parousia passage, Mark 13:22, has/

1. Ibid.

2. Glasson, Advent, p. 79.

3. Mark 13:1-2; 14:58; 15:29; Matt. 5:25-26; Luke 12:55-69; 13:1-5; Matt. 23:37f.; Luke 13:34f.; 23:28-30; 17:22-37; Matt. 24:3, 27, 37, 39; Advent, pp. 81-82, 85-86; T. Colani, op.cit., p. 20.

4. Advent, pp. 63ff.; His Appearing, p. 5; cf. C.H. Dodd, Parables: In Mark 13:1-2, according to Dodd, the destruction of the Temple is implied (pp. 61-62). Mark 14:58 belongs to a group of predictions which refer to coming disasters for the Jewish people, their city and Temple (pp. 60-61). In Matthew 5:25-26/Luke 12:57-59 Dodd suggested that the interpretation refers to the situation of crisis which the hearers will be facing, i.e. the fall and destruction of the nation. In Matthew 23:37f./Luke 13:34f, (Glasson, Advent, pp. 98ff.; cf. Dodd, Parables, pp. 62-63), Dodd sees that in spite of Mark's attempt to associate the prediction with an apocalyptic catastrophe, it is most natural to suppose that Jesus pronounced the doom of the Temple as an impending event in history.

has also been explained away by Glasson.¹ Matthew 10:23 has been strongly questioned and therefore to be regarded with grave suspicion.² Matthew 25:31 according to Glasson is the evangelist's own construction based on the Similitudes of Enoch.³ This section, according to Dodd, does not conform to the parabolic type, but belongs to the same class as the judgement scenes in Enoch and other apocalypses.

The reply of Jesus to the High Priest at his trial (Mark 14:62 / Luke 22:69 / Matt. 26:64) according to Glasson constitutes one important and clear reference to the Parousia in the words of Jesus. Some have gone so far as to say that it is doubtful whether the earlier Gospel tradition contained explicit predictions of the Second Advent apart from this saying.⁴ Glasson devoted part of his work to examining the saying, all the time trying to disprove that a Second Advent was anticipated by Jesus in his reply. The very same problem had been faced by Dodd, and it is interesting to note that Glasson's conclusion about the meaning and interpretation of Mark 14:62 had been previously anticipated by G.H. Dodd in his book The Parables of the Kingdom.⁵

1. Advent, pp. 98-99.

2. Ibid., pp. 103f.; T.W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus: Studies of its Form and Content, Cambridge, 1948, p. 221; C.J. Cadoux, The Historic Mission of Jesus, London, 1943, p. 303, also pp. 95, 292-293.

3. Glasson, Advent, pp. 104f.; T.W. Manson, Teaching, p. 37; cf. Dodd, Parables, fn. p. 85.

4. Dodd, Parables, p. 96.

5. Ibid., p. 98.

According to Glasson, these Son of Man references share the highly pictorial language of Eastern writings, and we may be creating needless difficulties by pressing symbolic expressions too literally. A symbolic view of the phrase had been advocated by a number of scholars.¹ C.H. Dodd, in his contribution to T.W. Manson's Companion to the Bible, deals with this verse (Mark 14:62); and after referring to the fact that in Daniel 7 'the Son of Man stands for the people of the Saints of the Most High, and his coming with the clouds of heaven means the triumph of that people over the pagan empire' he goes on to say that we may suppose it was equally symbolic in the mouth of Jesus.² However, R. Otto's interpretation of this passage clearly indicated a future fulfilment of Jesus' saying. Otto maintained that the words were not fulfilled, that the judges did not see his coming.³ Glasson raises the question about Otto's interpretation of the meaning of Jesus' words. In Mark and Matthew, our Lord's words combine two Old Testament passages, Psalm 110 and Daniel 7:13.⁴ These may be described as two 'coronation passages'. The reference to the 'Son of Man coming with clouds' reflects the second part of Daniel 7:13, implying that the Son of Man at his/

1. T.F. Glasson, 'The Reply to Caiaphas' (Mark 14:62), New Testament Studies, vol. vii, 1960-1961, pp. 88-93.
2. Companion to the Bible, Edinburgh, 1939, p. 375.
3. R. Otto, Kingdom of God, p. 227.
4. Luke only uses the Psalm reference: see Glasson, His Appearing, pp. 3-4; Advent, pp. 63-65; cf. Dodd, Parables, pp. 91, 96, 97, 98.

his presentation will receive dominion, glory and Kingdom. The coming with clouds is not a descent from heaven in glory, though the Church later on in defiance of the original context took it in that sense. The meaning of Jesus' reply according to Glasson would therefore seem to be that although he was about to be put to a shameful death he was really entering upon his reign.¹ This would be in line with the idea of Philippians 2:8-11 that the supremacy of Jesus comes from his humiliation and death on the cross. This conclusion of Glasson about Mark 14:62 had been anticipated by Dodd, who indicated that the passage speaks of the coming into power of Jesus through his sufferings, death and resurrection. Dodd believed that the two predictions of Mark 14:62, (i) seated at the right hand of power, and (ii) coming with the clouds of heaven, were a unity, implying the state Jesus would go through by virtue of his sufferings, death, and resurrection. However, the Church in the light of its own experience divided the prediction of Mark 14:62 into two stages. Exaltation and the Second Advent most likely were very closely associated in the sayings of Mark 14:62.²

In dealing with the parables of Jesus, Glasson acknowledged his indebtedness to Dodd's The Parables of the Kingdom in which Dodd tried to show how practically all the parables had their original setting in the life of Jesus.³ Glasson finds Dodd's discussion of/

1. Advent, pp. 64-65.

2. Dodd, Parables, p. 98; The Fourth Gospel, p. 395.

3. Glasson, Advent, p. 94.

of the eschatological parables very useful for his purpose.¹ In his systematic attempt to explain away any futuristic interpretation of the parables, Glasson follows Dodd's exposition very closely.

In the parable of the Unjust Judge (Luke 18:1-8)² Glasson indicates that in this parable the original words of Jesus end with verse 6. It would be in keeping with Jesus' usual practice to leave his hearers to find the message for themselves. Luke 18:7-8, which implies a future coming of the Son of Man, could be ascribed to early Christian interpretation.³ In the parable of the Pounds (Luke 19:11-27)⁴ vv 14 and 27 are peculiar to Luke, and therefore it is suggested that they are additions. But even if these additions are excluded, the parable still speaks of the return of Christ, i.e. the return of Christ is involved in the substance of the story. According to Glasson, this was not the original meaning intended by Jesus. The parable speaks of the relationship between God and his people Israel. The Jew hid the talent and is jealous of sharing it, therefore the talent will be taken away from him.⁵ This interpretation of the parable of the Pounds (Luke) or the Talents (Matthew) by Glasson closely follows Dodd's. Dodd suggested that in Matthew, the context/

1. Parables, pp. 146-174.

2. This parable is not mentioned by Dodd in Parables.

3. Advent, p. 92.

4. It is most likely that this is an alternative version of the parable found in Matthew 25:14-30, The Talents.

5. Glasson, Advent, p. 92.

context within which the parable is inserted is clearly intended to refer to the Second Advent.¹ In Luke's brief introduction, the parable is made explicitly to teach a lesson concerning the delay of the Second Advent.² However, apart from the application indicated in Matthew by the context and in Luke by the short introduction, both versions of the parable append a 'moral', i.e. Luke 19:26 and Matthew 25:29.³ Thus, according to Dodd, 'at a stage much earlier than that represented by the First and Third Gospels, the point of the parable was felt to lie, not in the reference to the Second Advent, or to its delay, but in the specific treatment of the worthy and unworthy servants'.⁴ This would therefore naturally follow the original meaning of the parable of Jesus which represents the relationship between the Lord and his servants and slaves, the Jews. The Jews by a policy of selfish exclusiveness make the religion of Israel barren.⁵

In the parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt. 25:1-13), the reference is not to some future consummation but to the attitude of the Jewish leaders who treated lightly the Great Invitation.⁶ Dodd likewise had/

1. Dodd, Parables, pp. 146f.

2. Ibid., p. 147.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 148.

5. Ibid., p. 151.

6. Advent, p. 93.

had the same conclusion. He indicated that the eschatological motive has disintegrated the parable and replaced it by direct prediction. He therefore concluded that it seems possible to give all these eschatological parables an application within the context of the ministry of Jesus; however, when the crisis had passed, these parables were adopted by the Church to enforce its appeal to men to prepare for the second and final crisis.¹

Other possible parabolic references to the future include Matthew 24:43-44; Luke 12:39-40; Mark 13:33-37; Luke 12:41-46 / Matthew 24:45-51; Luke 12:16-21. Glasson suggests from these references that the duty of watchfulness was urged by Jesus upon his disciples apart from any reference to the end of the world. The idea of being prepared was not bound up with the Parousia hope and is therefore adequately explained apart from it.² This is in line with Dodd,³ who sees that the parables of The Thief at Night and The Waiting Servants, (Matt. 24:43-44; Luke 12:39-40; Luke 12:35-38; Mark 13:33-37) were originally intended to refer to a situation already existing in the ministry of Jesus, but subject to unexpected developments at any moment. They were both intended to warn the hearers to be prepared for such developments. When the immediate crisis passed, the parables were naturally reapplied to the situation in which the early Christians found themselves after the death of Jesus; and as the/

1. Parables, pp. 171-174.

2. Advent, pp. 95-96.

3. Parables, pp. 167ff.

the expectation of the Second Advent hardened into a dogma in the early Church, the details of the parable of The Waiting Servants lent themselves to reinterpretation in the sense of that dogma, while the brief parable of The Thief at Night passed into a simple simile for the suddenness of the expected event, as we find it in Paul.¹ A similar process had happened in the tradition of the parable of The Faithful and Unfaithful Servants (Luke 12:42-46; Matt. 24:45-51) which originally appears to ridicule the religious leaders of the Jews as unfaithful servants (cf. the parables of The Wicked Husbandmen and the unprofitable servant in the parable of The Talents). These parables have messages directed to the actual situation. However, when these situations had passed, the Church naturally reapplied it to their own different situation.² It is without doubt that in Glasson's attempt to explain away futuristic implications in the Crisis Parables of Jesus he closely follows C.H. Dodd's assumption that the Parousia references were a result of the early Church's reinterpretation of the parables. The original messages of the parables were directed to the crisis brought about already by the present ministry of Jesus, including his death.

Jesus' teaching about the Kingdom of God according to Glasson closely follows the interpretation of the Old Testament and the Rabbinic sources concerning the term. In the Old Testament and the/

1. Parables, p. 171.

2. Ibid., pp. 158ff.

the Rabbinic sources, the three main senses stand out clearly.¹

i. God is now and always King; behind all things stands His sovereignty (cf. Psalm 145:13).

ii. God's sovereignty is however only partially recognised at present, i.e. by God's people Israel.

iii. The time will come when all men will have to recognise the kingship of God. According to Glasson, the Kingdom of God does not usually refer to the eternal sovereignty in the first of the three senses outlined, but there are several sayings which make contact with the second. The Kingdom of God is partially recognised now in the present, through personal obedience and relationship to God (Mark 12:34). However, in Jesus' teaching there are sayings which go much further than this and speak of the dramatic arrival of the Kingdom of God (Luke 11:20). Here, according to Glasson, Jesus declared that the conquest of evil powers has begun and the divine intervention has taken place.² This is very much in line with Dodd's own exposition, in which he insisted that here in the saying, 'The Kingdom of God has come upon you' (Luke 11:20 / Matt. 12:28), the Kingdom of God is a fact of present experience.³ In the light of this saying, Glasson suggests that Jesus found the signs of the Kingdom's presence in the conquest of evil in man's lives, and in the powers made manifest in his own ministry of healing and saving and/

1. Advent, pp. 106f.

2. Ibid., p. 107.

3. Parables, pp. 43f.

and preaching to the poor.¹ This is a modification of the popular view with its political and nationalistic flavour.

Another important modification which Jesus introduced was that the Kingdom of God through his mission and ministry came germinally.² This is implied by Jesus' three parables of Growth - The Mustard Seed, The Leaven, and The Seed Growing Secretly. For Jesus, the Kingdom had come germinally. The Kingdom, like the Mustard Seed, the Leaven and Seed Growing Secretly, is in the process of growth and development; however, the harvest or its consummation lies in the future.³ Thus, for Jesus, the Kingdom is present and future. In the mission of Jesus it has arrived, but as yet the Kingdom is like the seed and leaven, and stages of development will follow. The future aspect of the Kingdom of God in Jesus' teaching according to Glasson does not anticipate a Second Coming. However, it implies that Jesus' mission could not be fulfilled without the cross; the Kingdom of God could not come with power until he had been crucified.⁴ Jesus' death for Glasson means the outburst of spiritual power which brought the Christian movement into existence. Thus Jesus in his own preaching and mission reinterpreted the Kingdom of God and/

1. Advent, p. 108.
the

2. Cf./idea first presented by Professor George Florovsky, and later taken up by J.A.T. Robinson of 'inaugurated eschatology', and also J. Jeremias' 'sich realisierende Eschatologie'.

3. Advent, pp. 108-109.

4. Ibid., p. 112; also E.F. Scott, Kingdom and the Messiah, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 229.

and announced its presence. Yet, although it was already in the midst of men, it was present only in its initial stages. Through his own death, it would come in victorious strength.¹

The Parousia theme first appeared twenty years after the resurrection in Paul's letters to the Thessalonians. It did not form part of the original Gospel as the original Gospel was concerned with events which had already happened and of which the apostles were witness.² St. Paul was not responsible for introducing the Parousia in the teaching of Jesus; in fact he was only following in his earlier letters an eschatology derived from the Old Testament.³ Therefore Glasson could conclude that 'the source of the doctrine of the Second Coming is not the teaching of Jesus, nor is the conception due to Paul since there is nothing distinctively Pauline about it. The Parousia teaching was evidently part of the Christian tradition whose origin is the Old Testament passages of the "Day of the Lord".'⁴ The doctrine of the Parousia therefore was not new; all the essential details are found in the Old Testament description of the coming/

1. Advent, pp. 114f.

2. Comparison of ^{the} speeches in Acts chapters 2, 3, 5, 10 and 11 shows that the Parousia did not form part of the original Gospel. The main features of the original kerygma according to Glasson are: i. fulfilment of the Old Testament promises; ii. the death of Jesus; iii. the resurrection of Jesus; iv. the forgiveness of sins; v. apostles as witnesses. These five factors are also found in 1 Corinthians 15:3ff.; (Glasson, Advent, pp. 154-155; cf. Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, pp. 33-47).

3. Advent, pp. 163-165.

4. Ibid., pp. 167-168.

coming theophany. Broadly speaking, the Christians took over the Old Testament doctrine of the Advent of the Lord making the single adjustment that the Lord was the Lord Jesus.¹

T.F. Glasson's work The Second Advent is an attempt to prove that Jesus rejected 'in toto' Jewish messianism which was solely of the this-worldly order, and that, consequently, Jesus had no thought of a Parousia; that the belief arose in the primitive Church through the application to Jesus of Old Testament texts relating to the theophanies of God. With such objectives, Glasson finds the views of Timothy Colani set out in his book, Jesus Christ et les croyances de son temps, very useful. T. Colani will have no half-measures concerning the Second Advent doctrine. If timid predecessors are content to postpone or spiritualise the Second Advent of Christ, he will eradicate eschatology root and branch from the teaching of Jesus. Only so can the offensiveness of this doctrine be removed.

The first major point which Colani sought to establish is that there is no connection between Jewish messianism and the Gospel. The Jewish messiah before the time of the Christian Church was always human, and the Jewish hope was always bound up with temporal and political aims.² For this reason, Jesus avoided the application to himself of the term Messiah. Jesus could say all these sayings without believing that he was the Messiah, merely considering himself as a great prophet charged with initiating men into the Kingdom of/

1. Ibid., p. 176; also His Appearing, p. 11.

2. T. Colani, op.cit., p. 20.

of God.¹

The Kingdom was first preached by Jesus as yet to come (Mark 1: 14-15), but he soon taught that it had arrived, the watershed of the two periods being the conclusion of the ministry of John (Matt. 11:11). The Gospel working invisibly but all-powerfully is the real Kingdom of God which gradually extends itself over humanity.² There is no thought of a denouement in this teaching; on the contrary in his view of the future Jesus substituted an organic development for the catastrophes of the apocalypses.³ According to Colani, it is impossible therefore that Jesus could have conceived of a time when he himself would bring his Kingdom to victory to exercise universal sway. The whole life of Jesus is a contradiction of the Second Coming idea. Thus it would be absurd to attribute the Second Advent to Jesus.⁴ Rather, it was the disciples who applied to Jesus the traditional features of the Jewish messiah. Thus Colani could say that the statements in the Gospels purporting to teach an advent of Christ in glory must be eliminated. Either they are to be understood in a figurative sense, or they are to be viewed as inauthentic on the ground of their unworthiness of Jesus.

1. Ibid., p. 87.

2. Ibid., p. 125.

3. T. Colani, op.cit., p. 103.

4. Ibid., pp. 146-148.

As Beasley-Murray¹ has indicated, the parallel between Glasson and Colani is striking. 'Like his predecessor, Glasson adopts the method of denying entirely the authenticity of Jesus' teaching on the future of the Kingdom and the Parousia, and pays careful attention to Mark 13; like him he caricatures the orthodox belief in the Second Advent. Like Colani too, Glasson maintains that Jesus replaced Jewish apocalyptic by belief in the slow development of God's Kingdom.'²

It seems clear that Glasson had closely followed Colani's thesis which also has close resemblances with C.H. Dodd's work. The following characteristics stand out as distinctive of Colani's work.

i. that the Kingdom of God had already come in the ministry of Jesus.

ii. that the Second Advent was a creation of the early Church.

iii. that the statements in the Gospels which imply an advent in the future are not to be treated literally as they are symbolic of the transcendent character of the Kingdom which is already present. However, at the same time one cannot deny the fact that Glasson showed considerable dependence upon Dodd's exposition of individual futuristic sayings of the Gospels, the Son of Man sayings, and more especially Dodd's interpretation of the Crisis Parables in his book The Parables of the Kingdom. This dependence Glasson/

1. G.R. Beasley-Murray, Jesus and the Future, London, 1956.

2. Ibid., p. 31.

Glasson himself humbly acknowledges.¹

Paul's Eschatology

In Paul's earlier epistles (1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians) the idea of a Parousia in the very near future is quite strong. Glasson, as previously indicated, thinks that the source of Paul's doctrine of the Parousia in these early epistles is definitely not the teaching of Jesus. Nor is it an original creation of Paul, as there is nothing distinctively Pauline about it as there is in the case of Paul's doctrines of justification by faith, 'being in Christ', and the 'fruits of the Spirit'. By his close comparison of 1 and 2 Thessalonians' language with the Old Testament references, Glasson believes that the Parousia teaching was evidently part of the Christian tradition at that time, and its origin the Old Testament itself.² To find the origin of the Parousia teaching of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, we are not to go to the teaching of Jesus and then Enoch and then Persian eschatology. Rather, as the language suggests, we are to go straight from the Parousia passages of 1 and 2 Thessalonians as representing early Church teaching to the Old Testament. The connecting link was the Lord whose 'day' it was, was the Lord Jesus himself.³

1. Advent, pp. 94, 127.

2. 1 Thess. 4; 2 Thess. 1 / Is. 26:21, the Lord's coming; 2 Thess. 1:9; 2:8 / Is. 26:21, judgement; 1 Thess. 4:16 / Is. 26:19, resurrection; 1 Thess. 4:16 / Is. 27:13, trumpet; 1 Thess. 4:17 / Is. 27:12, gathering of the Elect.

3. Advent, pp. 167-171.

Glasson agrees with Otto Pfleiderer,¹ R.H. Charles,² and C.H. Dodd,³ that Paul's eschatological thought had undergone important modifications.⁴ For Glasson, the final stage is found in Ephesians.⁵ In this great epistle or treatise, the emphasis is on the Church and its reconciling ministry. It is the purpose of God to sum up all things in Christ, and in this cosmic process the Church is his instrument. It is through the Church, the Body of Christ, that God's eternal purpose is to be realised and his manifold wisdom made known. No mention is made of the Second Advent at all, but something of the future consummation is hinted at in the phrase 'the day of redemption' (4:30).⁶

Glasson suggested that Paul never relinquished his belief in the Parousia but it ceased to occupy the centre of his interest. He/

1. O. Pfleiderer, Paulinism.
2. R.H. Charles, Eschatology, pp. 437-461.
3. C.H. Dodd, 'Mind of Paul ii', pp. 109-118.
4. Advent, p. 206; His Appearing, pp. 11-12; 1 and 2 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians - imminent and apocalyptic eschatology; Romans, a longer period before the Parousia is implied. However, even though Romans 9-11 represent a stage beyond Thessalonians it is not Paul's final position.
5. Advent, p. 207, cf. Dodd, 'Mind of Paul ii', pp. 117, 125. According to Dodd, if we are prepared to recognise a development, then the teaching of Ephesians represents on this side the climax of that development. Glasson seems to have no queries about Ephesians as Pauline. Dodd treats Ephesians as Pauline, though not without misgivings.
6. Advent, pp. 207-208.

He came to see more in those parts of the divine purpose which had already received their fulfilment in Christ. It was Paul's understanding of the cross which enabled him to rise above the imperfect message with which he began. The cross for Paul is the heart of the Gospel. It is the revelation of divine love which was the power and wisdom of God. This message of Paul is very much in line with the teaching of Jesus.¹

According to Glasson, the development of Paul's thought is not the result of a brilliant and original mind inventing new conceptions, but rather the emergence of an element present all along, but which finally won its way to the central place. Therefore, Paul's final message is in harmony with the teaching of the Lord.² Both Jesus and Paul taught a 'realised eschatology' in contrast to the futuristic expectation of apocalyptic eschatology. It is instructive to see how in Paul's writings this fundamental message gradually comes to the fore while fervid apocalypticism recedes. The Parousia is retained partly because of its association with the last judgement, and partly because it provides a denouement to mark the victorious consummation. In individual life this consummation is found in eternal life beyond the grave and in being with Christ. In the life of mankind, it is found in some glorious climax when God shall be all in all. Finality has not yet been reached but even now/

1. Ibid., p. 208.

2. Ibid., p. 209.

now Christ is enthroned far above all rule and authority (Ephesians 1:20-21).¹

For Glasson, Jesus' and Paul's eschatology is in harmony with what we find in the Fourth Gospel. In John's Gospel, it is made plain that the real inbreaking of the divine into the world has already taken place in the Incarnation (John 12:32). The new age has dawned in human history with the coming of Jesus, and 'transmuted eschatology' finds itself thoroughly at home in these pages. According to Glasson, John leads us to find the decisive event, not in the future coming of Christ, but in his first coming.² This was previously asserted by C.H. Dodd, who stated that 'the Fourth Gospel writer deliberately subordinates the futurist element in the eschatology of the early Church to the "realised eschatology" which was from the first the distinctive and controlling factor in the kerygma'.³

T.F. Glasson and C.H. Dodd

T.F. Glasson's thesis concerning the origin of the doctrine of the Parousia in the New Testament inevitably puts him in a position in which it is essential to accept Dodd's 'realised eschatology'. He closely followed Dodd's exposition of the Parousia sayings of the/

1. Advent, p. 209.
2. Ibid., p. 210; His Appearing, pp. 11-12.
3. Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, pp. 155f.; The Fourth Gospel, pp. 7, 147.

the Gospels, like Mark 14:62, as well as the parables of Jesus which may imply a future Second Coming of Christ. He followed Dodd's own initiative of reading the future-eschatological statements of Jesus as well as those of Paul in his epistles as less than literal descriptions of the future cosmological happenings. Against the assumption that Jesus expected a speedy end of the world making Jesus' ethical teaching 'interim ethics', Glasson suggested that the very nature of Jesus' ethics was incompatible with such an assumption. Glasson's dependence on C.H. Dodd's exposition of 'realised eschatology' for his thesis could well lead to the weakening of this assumption; since once this exclusive emphasis upon the Kingdom as present in the teaching of Jesus is abandoned, then what remains of Glasson's position is scarcely defensible. As previously shown, Dodd's position concerning 'realised eschatology' was later modified to include a futuristic aspect in Jesus' eschatology, so much modification could well lead to a weakening of Glasson's thesis.¹

B. Rigaux's statement concerning Glasson's extension of Dodd's 'realised eschatology' to include Pauline eschatology is hardly justifiable. As shown earlier, Glasson's exposition of Pauline eschatology follows closely that of C.H. Dodd. He understands Pauline eschatological thought as undergoing a noticeable development through his epistles. In his earliest epistles, namely 1 and 2 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians, Paul simply reflected the understanding of his time. He was not responsible for the eschatology/

1. C.H. Dodd, 'Matthew and Paul', pp. 293-298; The Coming of Christ, pp. 8ff.

eschatology that he presented then, he was only following 'an eschatology derived from the common Christian teaching',¹ a teaching which has its roots, not in apocalyptic, but in the Old Testament passages of the 'day of the Lord'. Dodd similarly understands Paul's earlier eschatological thought; however instead of seeing Paul as indebted to these Old Testament passages, he sees that Paul's system was drawn from Jewish apocalyptic whose language and symbols he used extensively.² Although Dodd and Glasson may vary in their understanding of the roots of the futuristic Parousia in Paul's teaching in his earlier epistles, yet both are unanimous in assuming that this stage of Paul's eschatology is only but an initial immature stage of Paul's understanding of eschatology. Glasson speaks of Paul's maturer thought as represented by the epistle to the Ephesians - a treatise which speaks of the Church as the 'Body of Christ in whom God's eternal purpose is to be realised and His manifold wisdom made known'.³ For Glasson, Jews here are not given any definite role in the future, but a great process of reconciliation through Christ is envisaged. God's purpose is 'to sum up all things in Christ' (Ephesians 1:10); and in this cosmic process the Church is his instrument.

1. Advent, p. 156.

2. 'Mind of Paul ii'.

3. Advent, p. 208.

Dodd had already acknowledged this aspect of Paul's epistle to the Ephesians.¹ He states that 'the climax of the spiritual blessing is that God has made known to us His will, to sum up all things in Christ, things in heaven and things on earth (Ephesians 1:9-10)'.² Here Paul sees God's will and purpose being realised now though the final consummation of his purpose is yet to be fulfilled, not within this realm, but in the transcendent realm beyond. Though Glasson suggested that no mention is made of the Second Advent at all, yet he points out some future consummation which could be implied by the reference to the 'day of redemption' in Ephesians 4:30. Dodd seems to have gone further than Glasson in assuming the consummation of all things to be realised now not in this realm but in the transcendent world beyond.

Glasson understands Paul's later eschatological standpoint as being identical with Jesus' own original teaching. Jesus did not speak of a future Parousia, rather he preached that the Kingdom of God has already arrived through his own mission and ministry. The Kingdom of God is here and the new age has already broken through in the first coming of Jesus. For Paul, it was his understanding of the Cross which enabled him to rise above the imperfect message with which he began. The Cross is the heart of the Gospel - it is the revelation of divine love which was the power and wisdom of God.³

1. C.H. Dodd, 'Ephesians'.

2. Ibid., p. 61.

3. Advent, pp. 207-208.

Thus for Glasson, Paul's final message is in harmony with the teaching of his Lord.

Conclusion

Glasson's conclusion concerning Jesus' and Paul's eschatological message closely resembles that of C.H. Dodd. Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology' was not confined to Jesus' eschatology; in fact it seemed quite clear that Dodd has come to face the nature of Jesus' mission and work through his understanding of the message of the Pauline epistles as well as that of early apostolic preaching. He first established the realised character of Jesus' mission and message from Paul, before he ventured forth to confirm it in the recorded teaching and sayings of the Lord in the Gospels. Dodd's movement of thought may have been different from that of Glasson, yet, however, both have asserted the realised character of Jesus' and Paul's eschatology. For Glasson, the movement of his thought begins from Jesus' own sayings and parables in the Gospels which may reflect the presentness or futurity of Jesus' eschatology. It was only after establishing the fact that Jesus did not expect a Parousia in the future that Glasson turned to the epistles of Paul for a similar picture to that of Jesus himself. This he finds again in Dodd's early exposition of Paul's eschatology - a development from that of apocalyptic to that of 'realised eschatology'. It is highly unlikely that Glasson's exposition of Pauline eschatology has helped develop Dodd's 'realised eschatology' one step further. In fact, what he has to say about Paul's and Jesus' eschatology has already been expressed one way or another by Dodd. Glasson's main concern was to/

to show how the belief in the Second Advent of Christ had arisen. Did the Church derive it from the teaching of Jesus?¹ His assumption of the origin of the Second Advent doctrine from the early Church's interpretation of Old Testament passages of the 'Day of the Lord' inevitably put him in the position where he had to explain away any futuristic aspect of Jesus' teaching in the Gospels. His conclusions, as we expect, closely follow those of C.H. Dodd. For Glasson, 'if we reject some of the traditional forms of the advent hope, we are thus moving in line with the maturer development of New Testament teaching and we are also' in Glasson's opinion 'closer to the original mind of our Lord. If we regard the traditional imagery of advent and judgement as symbolic rather than literal, we shall not be guilty of disloyalty to the teaching and Spirit of Jesus.'²

1. Advent, pp. 9-11.

2. Glasson, His Appearing, p. 13.

CHAPTER EIGHT

JOHN ARTHUR THOMAS ROBINSON

JESUS AND THE PAROUSIA

Glasson's conclusion is also reached by J.A.T. Robinson in his book Jesus and His Coming, though by a different argument. He sees the future as belonging to Christ 'till the final consummation of this age and the reduction of its powers to the authority he has been given. But of another advent of Christ after an interval - of this we saw no evidence in the teaching of Jesus; of it too we found no signs in the earliest preaching and creeds of the Church.'¹ Like Glasson, Robinson is concerned to show that the Parousia doctrine of the early Church does not correspond to the expectation of the historical Jesus. However, unlike Glasson, he is prepared to admit that the historical Jesus, 'like every Jew, looked to the consummation of all things in the final vindication of God and his saints', he represented it in 'the traditional picture of the heavenly banquet' (Matt. 8:11ff. / Luke 13:28ff.; Luke 14:15-24); he used the actual expression 'the consummation of the age' and the 'age to come' (Matt. 12:32; Mark 10:30 / Luke 18:30; 16:8; 20:34f.); he made use of the conventional phraseology of 'heaven and earth passing away' (Mark 5:18 / Luke 16:17; Matt. 13:31); and, moreover, like every Jew, he visualised history as bounded by the final judgement, 'that day' of/

1. J.A.T. Robinson, His Coming, p. 137, also pp. 118-139.

of traditional expectation (Matt. 5:21-30; 7:22; 10:15; 11:21-24; 13:36, 41f.; Luke 10:12-15; 11:31f.) which would be marked by a general resurrection (Mark 12:25-27; Luke 14:14) and the final separation of the saved and the lost.¹

In Robinson's attempt to show that Jesus did not preach another coming other than his first coming, he became very much indebted not only to T.F. Glasson as he acknowledged,² but also very much so to the works of C.H. Dodd.³ Glasson and J.A.T. Robinson together with others have followed Dodd's initiative in reading the future-eschatological statements of Jesus in the Gospels as well as those of Paul in his epistles as less than literal descriptions of the future cosmological happenings. For Robinson, the 'end' language of the New Testament should be taken as symbolic. The various elements in the New Testament picture of the end are not to be taken as predictions; rather they represent theological convictions about the ultimate sovereignty of God in Christ. They are not to be viewed as literal occurrences with date and place, any more than the event of the Fall. In this way, it is claimed, 'all the biblical language can be given/

1. Ibid., pp. 36f.; N. Perrin, Kingdom of God, pp. 140f.
2. Robinson, His Coming, p. 14.
3. Like Matt. 26:64; Mark 14:62; Luke 22:69 Robinson's interpretation of predictions follows closely that of C.H. Dodd (Parables, pp. 91 n. 1, 96; cf. Robinson, His Coming, p. 43). Also, Robinson's understanding of the parables which imply a second advent in Jesus' teaching is greatly influenced by Dodd's own exposition of these parables in Parables, pp. 146-153. For other influences of Dodd, see references to Dodd in Robinson's book His Coming.

given its full value, transposed as it were into a different key'.¹

J.A.T. Robinson understands that the early Christians by their experience of the events of Jesus' ministry, his death and particularly his resurrection, had come to realise that, since events of the 'age to come' had already happened, then surely the end must come shortly. For them, the decisive move had been played. However, for Robinson, though there is no necessity that finality of purpose should be marked by temporal cessation, this is the inevitable form of expression in which this finality is asserted. The idea of the Second Advent stands in the New Testament for the conviction that, if the events of the incarnation have the eschatological character asserted of them, then history must come to a close.²

The idea of the Second Advent represents also the inescapable conviction that the end of God's purpose, however clearly embodied in the incarnation, has not yet come in the most final sense possible. This for Robinson is verified by the fact that the temporal world still continues and also that God and his will are quite obviously not all in all. However, in order to understand the finality of the/

1. His Coming, pp. 10ff. N.B. J. Jeremias, in his book The Parables of Jesus, concludes that all the parables implying the Lord's return had in the first instance no reference to the Parousia. Also C. Fison, The Christian Hope, London, 1954, p. 187, uses five texts (Matt. 16:28; 19:28; 24:29f., 64) from B. von Hügel's work, Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion, p. 123, in his attempt to confirm the idea of the Parousia, only however being successful with just one text.
2. Robinson, In the End, God, p. 58; also Dodd, Parables, p. 71; The proposition, "A is involved in B" (by the logic of the moral and spiritual order), becomes "A will follow immediately upon B".

the events of the incarnation, in order to see them as 'eschatological at all', it is necessary to view them as the first half of a single process that will be completed in the future. It is the certainty of the sequel which seals the events of the incarnation as eschatological.¹

Undoubtedly, Robinson sees New Testament eschatology, let alone Jesus' eschatology, as a complete unity. It is a single event inaugurated by the first coming of Jesus, his whole ministry including his death and resurrection; and this single event will finally be fulfilled in the future, when God is all in all. The fact that the eschatological event is just one event, not two, enables Robinson to speak of the future aspect without in the least undermining in any way the presentness of the eschaton already brought by Jesus. It is important to note here, that although Robinson is as much an exponent of 'realised eschatology' as C.H. Dodd had initially advocated, yet at the same time he sees the finality of Jesus' act of incarnation as being inseparable from that which is yet to be consummated in the future. However, instead of the early Church realising this important fact of the integral unity of Jesus' incarnation with that which is yet to come, they created a second event which would bring what has gone before to final consummation. This is in contrast to Dodd's original thesis in which he sees the whole fullness and finality of the Kingdom of God in Jesus' first coming, and any futuristic reference in Jesus' utterances and teaching is explained away as/

1. In the End, God, p. 58.

as secondary or as an accommodation of language which conveys the essentially timeless and transcendent nature of the Kingdom of God which had already arrived with the historic event of his ministry.

Robinson, though convinced that Jesus' message may have been eschatological from beginning to end (cf. A. Schweitzer), unlike Schweitzer understood Jesus' eschatological outlook as being basically non-apocalyptic.¹ This conclusion is also reached by W.G. Kümmel, who goes so far as to say, 'the eschatological message of Jesus stands in complete contrast to the outlook of apocalyptic'.² This is not to say that Jesus did not employ the language and the medium of apocalyptic; he certainly did;³ but instead of the early Church realising that Jesus' use of the apocalyptic was only as a medium to present his eschatology, they read into Jesus' eschatology the form and content of apocalyptic expectation. Robinson agrees with V. Taylor when he said that in order to get to the original eschatological expectation of Jesus, it is important 'to detach from his shoulders the glittering apocalyptic robe with which primitive Christians clothed him and with which he is still draped in popular Christian expectation'.⁴

1. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, p. 96.

2. W.G. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, p. 104; cf. M. Goguel, 'Eschatologie et apocalyptique dans le christianisme primitif', Revue de l'histoire des religions, cvi, 1932, p. 387. According to Goguel, 'the thought of Jesus was eschatological; it was not apocalyptic'. N.B. Goguel traces the distinction between eschatology and apocalyptic right through the New Testament writings (pp. 381-434, 489-524).

3. C.G. McCown, The Promise of His Coming, New York, 1921, p. 154.

4. V. Taylor, The Gospel according to St. Mark, p. 644.

According to Robinson, no evidence is to be found that the Parousia expectation formed part of the earliest strata of apocalyptic Christianity.¹ As far as Jesus' own words are concerned there is nothing to suggest that he shared the expectation of a return in glory which the Church ascribed to him.² The eschatological language appears for Jesus rather to have been another expression of the assurance, that 'God would inaugurate his Kingdom in power'.³

In the expectation of Jesus, two elements are distinguished, both of them part of the traditional Parousia expectation. These are, on the one hand, the element of 'vindication' - of victory out of defeat - and, on the other hand, the element of 'visitation' - of a coming among men in power and judgement. Robinson's argument is that although both of these elements are to be found in the expectation of Jesus, neither of them necessitates a future coming. Jesus expected an immediate vindication out of his sufferings, not a future event, a 'coming' in which he would be vindicated, and the visitation of which he spoke was a visitation which took place in his own ministry. There is in his teaching no 'coming of the Son of Man', which does not refer to this ministry, its climax and its consequences. The visitation of which he spoke would merely be set in motion by his rejection. Its outworking, like his own vindication, would take place/

1. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, p. 29.

2. Ibid., p. 57.

3. Ibid., pp. 57-58.

place 'from now on'.¹ As Dodd and Duncan had earlier suggested, so likewise Robinson emphasised that 'Jesus did not envisage a second moment of the Son of Man beyond and separate from the culmination of the ministry which he came to fulfil'.² In elucidating the significance of the historic event culminating in his death, Jesus was prepared to employ categories of interpretation familiar to his audience. Thus Jesus used the apocalyptic tradition of the Son of Man. But what the early Church did was precisely to make this translation of the eschatology of Jesus into the thought forms and content of apocalyptic expectation, so that through the early Church the eschatological language of Jesus is increasingly referred, not to the historical crisis and climax of his ministry, but to a point beyond it, and to a certain highly mythological occurrence expected after a gradually lengthening interval.³ For Robinson, Jesus' concern was with the present moment, with the crisis introduced into history by the advent of the Kingdom of God at work proleptically in his ministry and shortly to be fulfilled in his death and vindication.⁴ Robinson argues that the evidence to support the conclusion that Jesus spoke of the final crisis specifically as a 'coming of the Son of Man', is indeed slender compared with that which regards his entire ministry in terms of such a visitation. Jesus/

1. Ibid., p. 81; N. Perrin, Kingdom of God, p. 141.

2. Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 154; G.S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, pp. 182-189,

3. Jesus and His Coming, p. 98.

4. Ibid., p. 97.

Jesus was not interested in the future for its own sake; rather 'he was concerned to bring home to the Jewish nation the eternal consequences of this moment, alike in its offer and in its demands; such was the purport of his parables and the challenge of his ethics'.¹ However, the interpretation by the early Church of Jesus' eschatological language into the thought-forms and content of apocalyptic meant that 'Jesus' ethic has come to be separated out, detached from their eschatological setting, and adapted to the ordered life of the Church. In the same way, the eschatological elements are assembled and schematised to provide a map for the future and a programme for its hope.'²

Robinson strongly believes in the singleness of the eschatological event, first inaugurated by the coming of Jesus. This event, begun already, would reflect God's reign in Christ now, until all is brought within it. However, 'through the medium of apocalyptic, this teaching of Jesus, given to bring home to his contemporaries the nature of the events in whose shadow they so carelessly lived comes to be applied to the Church to alert it for his return. The single event from which the Christ reigns till all is subject to him becomes two events, two halves of the messianic act between which the Church lives and waits.'³ In his study of the Synoptic Gospels' material, Robinson states that/

1. Ibid.

2. E.g. Matt. 5:24-25; Luke 21:5-36; cf. Luke 17:20-37; Luke 11:49 - 13:9; *ibid.*, pp. 98ff.

3. Jesus and His Coming, p. 102.

that with the exception of the 'Q' material, one could say that within the Gospels, the application of the teaching of Jesus to a Parousia after an interval is purely an editorial feature.¹ The original teaching of Jesus, the first apostolic preaching, the primitive creeds, and the earliest stage of the Gospel tradition, in these there are always the marks of a single, self-consistent line of thought from which mention of a subsequent Parousia shows no sign of having been omitted. For Jesus, the climax of his own obedience in vindication out of death was the event with which God was to initiate the new covenant and introduce the messianic age. He looked, of course to the final consummation of that age in a crowning judgement of God, in which he would share, he did not look to a second act in history after an interval, a 'part two' of his coming, incorporating elements, whether of vindication or of visitation, not introduced by the first.² Robinson tends to think that the idea of a Second Coming as an event appears to have arisen directly from the uncertainty of the Church concerning the significance of the event of Christ's coming, his death and resurrection. The uncertainty arose in asking 'whether this piece of history could fully be called the messianic or eschatological event, not of course the "end" in the sense of the last things to happen, but the event that introduces into the world that by which God's purpose is finally declared and by which ultimately it must be saved and judged. (Cf. Dodd's understanding of the significance of Jesus/

1. Ibid., pp. 137-138.

2. Ibid., pp. 150-151.

Jesus' first coming in his interpretation of history, pp. 49ff.) That there was still a "last day" in which everything will be consummated, no one thought of doubting. The hesitation was whether, within history, everything had now been inaugurated, or whether there were elements yet to enter - perhaps another coming.'¹ It is important to bring to our notice at this stage that Robinson's scheme, inasmuch as he emphasises the importance of the present in the eschatology of Jesus, initiated by his first coming, his whole ministry including his death and resurrection, yet at the same time sees this eschatological process already inaugurated as moving towards a final consummation of all things in the future. According to Perrin, Robinson's exposition of Jesus' expectation in terms of his vindication and visitation will certainly be hard to reconcile with his admission that Jesus expected a final consummation. By drawing a sharp distinction between the expectation of Jesus concerning the final consummation and his expectation concerning vindication and visitation, Perrin thinks that Robinson here has made a mistake 'because the expectation of Jesus concerning his vindication is part of his whole expectation concerning the final consummation, and the visitation that took place in his ministry does not exclude the expectation of a future visitation'.²

Robinson classified Jesus' eschatology as 'inaugurated eschatology'.³ Such eschatology looked, that is to say, not for/

1. Jesus and His Coming, pp. 150f.

2. Perrin, Kingdom of God, pp. 141f.

3. A term used earlier by Professor George Florovsky, quoted by E.E. Wolfzorn, op.cit., p. 44.

for another coming of Christ, but to the certain reduction of all things to the Christ who had come, and whose 'coming to his own', alike in victory and in visitation, was from now on the ultimate and most pressing reality with which men must reckon. Robinson admits that Jesus saw a future consummation, a point denied by Glasson.¹ Robinson sees the term 'realised eschatology' used by Dodd as being vague and ambiguous, and perhaps not being a strikingly apt term to explain Jesus' eschatology. In a first possible sense, 'realised eschatology' represents the view that the Kingdom of God comes fully and completely in the historical crisis of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus.² In this sense, no one stands for a more completely 'realised eschatology' than Albert Schweitzer. According to A. Schweitzer, Jesus expected the 'eschaton' to be quite imminent, in fact during his own lifetime. However, when the end of the age failed to come as expected, Jesus then felt sure that by his own sacrifice of death and resurrection he would be able to set the events of the end moving, bringing in the realisation of the Kingdom. Also for Schweitzer, the parables of watchfulness have no more reference to anything after this event than they have for Dodd; for, on his definition, nothing can happen after that final crisis. Or, rather, nothing should have happened after it - and to that extent/

1. See J.S. Mbiti, op.cit., p. 37; N. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pp. 143f.; cf. N. Clark, An Approach to the Theology of the Sacraments, 1956, p. 27.

2. Robinson suggests that this first sense is prominent in Dodd's work, Apostolic Preaching, see Robinson's Jesus and His Coming, p. 100.

extent Schweitzer represents the hope of Jesus as completely unrealised eschatology: 'The death of Jesus is the end of eschatology'. 'For Robinson, the failure of the eschaton to materialise immediately after the death of Jesus and his consequent resurrection led Schweitzer to the conclusion that Jesus' eschatology was completely 'unrealised'.¹ The second possible meaning of 'realised eschatology' emphasises that the 'Kingdom of God was already a present fact during the ministry of Jesus and not simply something to which he still looks forward in the future'.² In this sense according to Robinson, Schweitzer and Dodd represent opposite poles; Schweitzer believing that to the very end Jesus saw the Kingdom purely as a future event, Dodd that from the moment Jesus came into Galilee he proclaimed it as an existing reality. Robinson suggests that in neither sense is the term 'realised eschatology' the most felicitous expression. For the situation within the present ministry of Jesus he prefers the term 'proleptic eschatology', since it rightly implies the fact that while the Kingdom comes in power, and the hour of the Son of Man arrives only with the death of Jesus, yet the signs of the messianic age are already to be/

1. A. Schweitzer, The Mystery of the Kingdom of God, pp. 124, 248; Robinson, His Coming, pp. 100-101. I find Robinson's analysis of Schweitzer's understanding of Jesus' eschatology difficult to accept. If it is true as Robinson indicated that Jesus expected the Kingdom to come but never looked at his ministry and said 'it is realised', then this is in fact a weakness of Robinson's analysis of Schweitzer's account. Also, it is important to point out that 'realisable' is not the same as 'realised'. Schweitzer's view of Jesus' understanding of eschatology would fit the former more than the latter. It would be quite erroneous also to speak of 'realised eschatology' as indicating a process begun now and yet to be completed in the future - no matter how imminent it would be.
2. Robinson, His Coming, p. 101.

be seen in anticipation in his words and deeds.¹ However, for relating the ministry of Jesus to the future and to the final consummation of God's purpose, 'inaugurated eschatology' would appear the most satisfactory term.² The term indicates to Robinson that in the first coming of Jesus all was inaugurated, yet only inaugurated. Some elements in it were now fulfilled, others still lay purely in the future. 'Those things which Jesus averred of his vindication were seen as accomplished; he had sat down at the right hand of God, angels and authorities and powers being subjected to him. Of what he spoke of his visitation, on the other hand, the great part was deferred for the future, though still proximate, fulfilment.'³

Robinson's standpoint as regards Jesus' eschatology departs from that of C.H. Dodd not only in his substitution of inaugurated for realised but also in their respective concepts of the futuristic elements in Jesus' teaching. According to Dodd, the futuristic references in the teaching of Jesus were only an accommodation of language, a literary device used by Jesus to convey the essentially timeless and transcendent nature of the Kingdom of God which already has arrived with the historic event of his whole ministry - his life, death, and resurrection.⁴ Robinson closely follows Dodd's 'realised/

1. W.G. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment; R.H. Fuller, The Mission and Achievement of Jesus, prefers the same term.
2. His Coming, p. 101.
3. Ibid., p. 102.
4. Dodd, 'Eschatological Element', p. 21; 'The This-Worldly Kingdom', pp. 258-259; Parables, pp. 56, 74, 79-80, etc.

'realised eschatology' in the sense that through the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, the Kingdom of God has already come; he, like Dodd, refuses to acknowledge the existence of a Second Coming of Jesus in the future in the teaching of Jesus, yet, unlike Dodd, Robinson strongly feels that the events of Jesus inaugurate what is yet to be fully completed in the future, when everything is brought to God. The eschatological event has begun in the first coming of Jesus, and this event will extend to include the final consummation of all things in the future. This implies not a second moment, but rather an integral part of the event initiated by the first coming of Jesus. That is to say, the doctrine of the Second Coming does not represent the tacking on of another clause to the Christian's creed, the addition of a futuristic element to a Gospel that originally knew no such hope. However, all that lies at the heart of the Parousia doctrine was already there in the teaching of Jesus and the preaching of the primitive Church. The only question was how this element of the hereafter was properly to be expressed.¹

Robinson understands the New Testament as presenting two forms of expectation. The first represents the Christ event as still as much future as past; the messianic act is now, as it were, half-way through. The second one, much closer to Jesus' teaching, expressed its hope rather in what he called 'inaugurated eschatology'. It looked not for another coming of Christ, but to the certain reduction of all things to Christ who had come and whose 'coming to his own',/

1. Robinson, His Coming, pp. 158-159.

own', alike in victory and in visitation was from now on the ultimate and most pressing reality with which men must reckon. The first is clearly represented by 2 Peter 3:4, the Gospel of Matthew, the earlier epistles of Paul, and also Acts 3. The second strain is closely represented by Acts 2 and primitive preaching generally, as well as by the earlier strata of the Synoptic tradition. It is reflected in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and given classic expression in the Fourth Gospel.¹

Robinson believed that both eschatological strains found in the books of the New Testament represent the full eschatological truth of Jesus' teaching. No one strain can claim to be the only aspect of Jesus' eschatology. Therefore, it would be entirely false to represent these alternatives as completely divergent or mutually incompatible. The existence of these two alternatives side by side in Hebrews, the Fourth Gospel, the Johannine epistles and also in the Pauline epistles, indicated to Robinson that the two strains were originally compatible. The two were originally parts of one eschatological expectation and hope; however, in the course of early proclamation, its unity was broken, and one came to emphasise the events already brought by Jesus' first coming, and the other focussed on the final and future consummation in Jesus' second coming. The mistake lay not in the very conception of the future Parousia which, despite occasional crudities, represents in dramatic terms a vivid and profound picture of the summing up of all things in Christ/

1. Ibid., pp. 160-161.

Christ. What went wrong was when this picture, this myth, was taken for literal event, a second event parallel with the first, lying on the same temporal line, and separated from it by an interval whose length could be measured, if not now, then immediately after the second has happened.¹

The Parousia or any other element in the myth of the end becomes a distortion of the teaching of Jesus at the point at which it is no longer a symbol or a sign but an event which cannot take place till after other events. 'And this it has clearly become both in the Pauline and Synoptic apocalypses; it cannot occur till after the great "apostasy" (2 Thessalonians 2:3; Mark 13:5-7) and the "man of lawlessness is revealed" (2 Thessalonians 2:3), till after the tribulation (Mark 13:24) and "the Gospel has first been preached to all nations" (Mark 13:10).'²

Originally, for the New Testament, the Parousia language described what is true from now on: it embraces, that is to say, both the finished work of Christ and that which is yet to be completed. But with the disruption of this unity, it has come to refer exclusively to that half of the Christian eschatology which has been realised in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. What is the nature of this other half of Christian eschatology? Robinson indicated that it is surely not another event, as if another event were needed. 'It is for/

1. P.S. Minear, Christian Hope and the Second Coming, Philadelphia, 1954, p. 75.
2. Robinson, His Coming, pp. 181-182.

for the Epistle to the Hebrews the perpetual intercession of the priest-king appearing henceforward within the veil on our behalf. It is in the Pauline terms the Body of Christ into which all is being brought by that power which enables him even to subject all things to himself.¹

To Robinson, Parousia is a word that has no plural. There is but one coming; begun at Christmas, perfected on the cross, and continuing till all are included in it, and again there is one coming from God to God. Whether ultimately we speak with John of Christ coming to us, or with Paul of our coming into Christ, is a matter of human language. 'What is decisive is that in each case we see that coming already inaugurated, whether in the great perfect of the Johannine "it is finished" (John 19:30) or that tremendous acrist in which Paul declares that it was the design of God, once and for all, in the fullness of time "to sum up all things in Christ" (Ephesians 1:10).'²

The unity of the two parts of eschatology - that of the completed work of Christ through his first coming, and the future consummation of all things through him, Robinson sees as the essence of Jesus' own teaching concerning eschatology. The one is completed only in the other. Jesus comes to his own in visitation only as he comes to his own in glory; the ascension is finished only when contact with the disciples is re-established. On the cross, Jesus goes to the Father/

1. Ibid., p. 183.

2. Ibid., p. 185.

Father, he lives; at his resurrection and onwards the disciples live in him as he in them. It is this mutual indwelling in love which is the essence of the Parousia, and the reason therefore why in the first instance the manifestation is possible only to those who love him (John 14:20-23). In understanding Jesus' eschatology as such, i.e. as a unity between that finished part of his work and that which is yet to be accomplished in the future through his faithful disciples and followers, Robinson clearly sees the integration of eschatology and ethics in the New Testament.¹

Jesus' Eschatology and Ethics

Robinson's understanding of eschatology has significant implications for how he sees the original relationship between eschatology and ethics, not only in Jesus' own teaching, but in the teaching of Paul and the New Testament books as a whole. The unity of the present and future in eschatology is very significant to Robinson. The two parts are inter-dependent on each other for their completion. What has already happened can never be undermined by the futurity of its other components, but both should be treated together as one is the integral part of the other. This unity according to Robinson is clearly seen in the eschatology of the Fourth Gospel.² It is never broken as in the Synoptic Gospels; in fact no division/

1. Ibid., pp. 178-179.

2. Robinson, His Coming, p. 169.

division is introduced between the different elements.¹ The unity between the fulfilled and the future is most succinctly illustrated in the last occurrence of the formula, 'ἐρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν', though here in the Last Discourse Jesus speaks as it were from the other side of the passion, the 'now' of the present process has given place to the perfect of completed action (John 16:32).² The Parousia here in the Fourth Gospel is clearly understood not as a separate catastrophic occurrence, but as a continuous pervasion of the daily life of the disciples and the Church. This is very much in line with Dodd's understanding of the close integration of eschatology and ethics in John. According to Dodd, the idea of Christ's Second Coming in John must be understood in the following senses:

- i. Christ will continue his mighty works in his disciples (John 14:12).
- ii. The Paraclete will dwell in them (John 14:15-17).
- iii. They will live by virtue of the living Christ (John 14:19).
- iv. They will continue in a perpetual interchange of ἀγάπη with him (John 14:21).³ To Robinson, ethics here as in/

1. Ibid., p. 176.

2. Robinson here acknowledged indebtedness to G.H. Dodd's exposition (Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 397ff., 446f.); see Robinson's Jesus and His Coming, p. 174.

3. Dodd, The Fourth Gospel, p. 395.

in Jesus' original teaching is an integral part of eschatology. The first coming of Jesus, his whole ministry including his death and resurrection, inaugurated the eschaton; however, the other half is yet to be completed through the work of the Church. As in 1 John 2:5; 4:12, 17; the Parousia is itself the 'manifestation' or 'consummation' of *ἀγάπη* - 'the mutual indwelling through the Spirit of the love of the Father and the Son and of the disciples'. This is the other part of eschatology for John, 'the person and work of the Paraclete who takes the things of Jesus and makes perfect in us his presence of love'.¹

Robinson's understanding of the unity of eschatology and ethics in John and the Johannine epistles followed closely that of C.H. Dodd. Dodd is able to understand from his exposition of John's theme of *δόξα* revealed in Christ (7:39; 11:4; 12:23; 13:31) and that of the knowledge of God fully expressed in Jesus' own coming (1:18; 8:28, 32; 10:38; 14:7-9) that the final relation between God and man to be realised through the incarnate word, a relation which is knowledge, vision, mutual indwelling, the sharing of life in love, is now declared to be realised in the disciples.² The same idea is also reflected in the Synoptic Gospels which professed that the 'end' cannot come until the Gospel has been preached to the whole world (Mark 13:10; Matt. 24:14). For Robinson, although the Synoptic presentation of Jesus' teaching tended to be dominated by the one half of eschatology, i.e./

1. Robinson, His Coming, p. 183.

2. The Fourth Gospel, pp. 396-397.

i.e. 'realised eschatology', yet at the same time evidence of the continued aspect of eschatology still remains. The Gospel is still yet to be preached and acknowledged before the end comes. This continued aspect of Jesus' eschatology through the lives of his disciples and followers represents quite clearly this integral unity between eschatology and ethics which stands out much more clearly in the Fourth Gospel, and even more so in the Pauline concept of the Body of Christ.

Pauline Eschatology and the Body of Christ

In the epistles of Paul, Robinson sees the other half of eschatology in what Paul refers to as the Body of Christ, into which all is being brought, 'by that power which enables him even to subject all things to himself (Philippians 3:21)'. In dealing with the Pauline eschatology, Robinson acknowledges that there is a development away from a primitive apocalyptic outlook to something less apocalyptic.¹ For Robinson, it is noticeable that the conception of the Parousia appears in the Pauline epistles in almost inverse proportion to that of the Body of Christ. However, as 'the dangers of apocalyptic become more apparent to him, he seems to have cast round for a mode of expression that would bring together rather than contrast the lowly body, the self-emptying coming, of the incarnation, and that of the Totus Christus, whose glory is precisely/

1. Cf. the development of Pauline eschatology suggested earlier by Otto Pfleiderer, R.H. Charles, C.H. Dodd, E.E. Ellis, etc.

precisely the inclusion of all things in him who is the Head'.¹ Robinson suggested that Paul throughout his writings, either in his earlier epistles with their strong apocalyptic tone, or in his maturer work, never ceases to present the final consummation in corporate terms (1 Thess. 3:13; 2 Thess. 1:10; 2:1; Romans 8:17-23; Col. 3:4; Phil. 3:20f.). This is why the Parousia and the Body of Christ can stand as theological equivalents for that eschatological reality to which the whole work of God is moving.² This other portion of eschatology receives its full exposition in Paul's later epistles, especially Ephesians. Thus J.A.T. Robinson could say that the 'eschatology of Ephesians comes to be in all essentials that of the Fourth Gospel'.³

Robinson argues that Paul's use of the present tense *κατεκρίθη*, the consistent use of the word *ἐκκλησία* in his later epistles (Col. 1:19, 24; 2:9; Eph. 1:23; 4:10ff.) to signify the Church, together with the explanatory clause 'you are in him ... who is the head', all make it possible that Paul means here that now, since the Ascension, this fullness of the Godhead is contained by Christ not simply in himself but in such a way that it spreads over to those who have been incorporated in him. The fullness with which Christ is filled by God is now filling those who are in him.⁴ Thus Paul's/

1. Robinson, His Coming, p. 184.

2. Ibid., p. 184.

3. Ibid.

4. Robinson, The Body, p. 68.

Paul's use of the concept 'the Body of Christ' according to Robinson indicates a unity of the already realised and this other half of eschatology which is yet to be brought to consummation. Robinson understands 'the Body of Christ' as not only expressing the presentness of the redemption already made possible through Jesus' ministry, his death, and resurrection, but at the same time indicating the futurity of the eschaton when everything is brought into Christ (Ephesians 1:9f.). By virtue of being 'the Body of Christ', the Church, according to Robinson, is constantly receiving from Christ the complete fullness which Christ receives from the Father.¹ The hope of Christians is nothing less than that the complete fullness of God which already resides in Christ should in him be theirs. This can never be true of isolated Christians, but in the 'full grown man', in the new corporeity which is his body, the 'measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ' is theirs to attain (Ephesians 4:13) for the Father's decree is that the divine fullness should dwell in him/

1. The idea is expressed also by W.L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, Cambridge, 1939; L.S. Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ, London, 1941; J.A. Robinson, Ephesians, London, 1903; cf. C.H. Dodd, New Testament Studies, pp. 124f.: 'By the time Paul writes to the Ephesians', according to Dodd, 'the community is here to stay and the Parousia must coincide with the reconciliation of all things in Jesus Christ (Col. 1:20; cf. Ephesians 1:9-10). The unity of all things is achieved when Christ presents the Church, his own Body, complete before God (Col. 1:22; cf. 1 Cor. 15:24).' This will be by bringing them into harmony with his will rather than by an act of suppression. J.A.T. Robinson comes to a similar conclusion though via a different approach: 'the Parousia is clearly understood not as a separate catastrophic occurrence but as a continuous pervasion of the daily life of the disciples and the Church. The coming is an abiding presence' (His Coming, p. 176).

him, not simply as an individual but *σωματικῶς*.¹

Robinson clearly indicates from the passages, Colossians 1:24; 2 Corinthians 1:4-7,² that for Paul, the fullness of Christ's life, alike in his death and in his resurrection, now overflows into his Body. Paul's reference in Colossians 1:24 concerning his afflictions and sufferings does not indicate that he is making up anything lacking in Christ's sufferings; however, the point is that Paul is concerned with the feeding into the whole body of the fullness of Christ already available for them.³ Paul considered himself as only the channel through which such fullness of the life of Christ could be passed on to the Body. The process by which the Church, 'the Body of Christ', is gradually embodying the fullness of Christ is further set by Paul within the total scheme of God's redemption, when in the fullness of times it will sum up all things in Christ, the/

1. Robinson, The Body, p. 69. N.B. It is difficult to accuse J.A.T. Robinson of reading his *σωμα* theology into Paul's earlier epistles, although at some stages he tends to refer to a few scattered references in the earlier epistles whereby Paul seems to speak of the final consummation in corporate terms - e.g. 1 Thess. 3:13; 2 Thess. 1:10; 2:1; Romans 8:17-23, 29; Phil. 3:20f.. N.B. also references to Romans 15:13f.; Phil. 1:11; 4:18f (The Body, p. 69). Robinson's main arguments for his *σωμα* theology are very much contained within Ephesians and Colossians. (This is rather a shaky foundation since the Pauline authorship of these epistles is still debatable.) It is important to note also at this stage that Robinson understands Paul's eschatology as a development. The earlier epistles represent a more future-oriented aspect which is later balanced by Paul's concept of 'the Body of Christ'.
2. L.S. Thornton, op.cit., pp. 34f., 305; points out that both passages should be considered alongside one another.
3. Robinson, The Body, p. 70; H.M. Shires, op.cit., pp. 165f.

the things in heavens and the things upon earth (Ephesians 1:9f.).

'Just as it was the good pleasure of the Father that the whole expanse of the divine fullness should settle down in one man, Christ Jesus, so now that fullness is to be extended to incorporate every man, till all are brought within the one.'¹ Paul never doubts the finality of Christ's work on the cross and his consequent resurrection (Col. 1:20) nor is he unsure of the glory, power, and authority that God has fully bestowed upon him (Ephesians 1:20f.) 'and yet', according to Robinson, 'within that universal kingship, and to translate into moral obedience what is already a "fait accompli" He gave Him to be head over all things, to the Church which is His Body, the fullness of Him who in all in all is being filled' (Ephesians 1:22f.). What is complete in extent has to be made intensively effective: the circle of Christ's kingship must be filled in and out. And the agent of that filling is the Church; its function is to extend throughout Christ's redeemed universe the acknowledgement of his victory, 'to the extent that now unto the principalities and powers in the heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he proposed in Christ Jesus our Lord (Ephesians 3:10f.)'.² The Church, by virtue of its possession of the Spirit, is the eschatological community (1 Corinthians 12:13; Ephesians 4:4). It is this Spirit, 'the anticipation of the end in/

1. The Body, p. 71.

2. The Body, pp. 71-72.

in the present',¹ that enables those who are in the Body of Christ to participate already in this age in the resurrection mode of existence. Paul calls it the 'earnest' (2 Corinthians 1:22; 5:5; Ephesians 1:14), the 'first fruits' (Romans 8:23) of the life of glory. Commenting on the Pauline view of the life in the Spirit, J. Knox has declared, 'the age of the Spirit has not, strictly speaking, arrived, but the life of the Spirit has already begun'.² Therefore in the opinion of J.A.T. Robinson, 'however vivid its expectation of Jesus, the Church remained content to express its certainty about the future as part of its conviction of the present and continuing sovereignty of Christ, already enthroned as history's Lord and history's Judge'.³

Pauline Eschatology and Ethics

Through Paul's idea of the 'Body of Christ', Robinson clearly sees the integration of eschatology and ethics, the present and the future in the eschatological community. Through the events of Jesus/

1. O. Cullmann, Christ and Time, London, 1950, p. 72.
2. J. Knox, 'Exegesis of the Epistle to the Romans', Interpreter's Bible, vol. 9, p. 406; cf. A. Schweitzer, Mysticism, p. 99: 'resurrection powers, that is to say powers of the supernatural world, were already at work within the created world'. Also O. Cullmann, The Early Church, London, 1956, p. 155: 'it is the action of the Holy Spirit which testifies that from now on we are living in the last age of time. This last age is a fragment of the future, the only part of the coming which exists in the present age.'
3. Robinson, His Coming, p. 34; cf. O. Cullmann, Christ and Time, 'Christ rules over all things in heaven and on earth. The spatial centre of this lordship is the Church, which constitutes his Body on earth.'

Jesus' life, death, and resurrection, the end is already being inaugurated, the fullness of God through Jesus Christ is already a present possession, and is available for the members of its body. Yet, this present availability does not exclude its future anticipation. The Church, though an eschatological community, still exists in the present world; and it is its function, the function of its members, to extend throughout Christ's redeemed universe this victory of their Head, i.e. the power and the love of God, until all and everything is brought into the fullness of God already revealed by Jesus Christ. Thus Robinson's understanding of Pauline eschatology closely resembles that of the Fourth Gospel, not to speak of Jesus' eschatology. It reflects the original unity of the 'realised' and the 'yet to come' aspects of New Testament eschatology. Christ's first coming inaugurated the whole process which is carried on by the Church. Jesus Christ as the Head, and the Church as his Body, clearly indicate that inseparable unity of eschatology and ethics - the 'already realised' and the 'yet to come' in the teaching of the apostle. Robinson clearly asserts that 'St. Paul never derives any moral principles from the belief in the Second Advent; the whole quality of the Christian life is based directly upon the fact that Christians have already been translated into a new order of existence'.¹ E. Dinkler agrees when he states that 'he who believes in Christ is a new being, that for him the Christian era of salvation has come, the past is ended and forgiveness has graciously/

1. Robinson, In the End, God, p. 57.

graciously been bestowed'.¹

C.H. Dodd and J.A.T. Robinson

It is certainly hard to identify Robinson's standpoint as completely realised in the sense C.H. Dodd advocated. Though they both shun the idea of a Second Advent in the sense of a second event in the future which will bring to a close the present age, yet Dodd's original position, unlike that of Robinson, completely forsook any references to a future consummation other than that already brought by Jesus in his first coming.² Robinson's position clearly shows an extension of Dodd's 'realised eschatology'. Inasmuch as he accepts the significance and finality of Jesus' first coming, he endorses Dodd's view, yet at the same time he sees the future consummation as an integral part of Jesus', and likewise the New Testament's, eschatology. This future consummation is no second event, but a second part of the already realised event. In no way would it undermine the finality of the first coming of Jesus, since it is only the penetration and extension of what has already been made/

1. E. Dinkler, 'Earliest Christianity' in The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East, ed. by R.C. Dentan, Yale, 1955, p. 182; cf. Goguel, The Birth of Christianity, London, 1954, p. 282; 'For Paul, the celestial realm and salvation ceased to be objects of hope and became objects of present experience'.
2. It has been suggested that this original position of Dodd's lapsed in his later works, namely 'Matthew and Paul', (Expository Times lviii), The Coming of Christ, and The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel; see E. Wolfzorn, op.cit., pp. 44ff.

made available through Christ to his Body the Church, till all and everything is summed up in Christ. In this way, Robinson understands the inseparable unity between eschatology and ethics in the teaching of Jesus as well as the New Testament writers, especially John and Paul.

Again it must be emphasised that B. Rigaux's suggestion that Robinson extended Dodd's 'realised thesis' to include Pauline eschatology is unfounded.¹ Dodd had certainly seen Paul's maturer thought as indicating a realised eschatological standpoint. As previously indicated, Paul in his earlier epistles made free use of the apocalyptic imagery, though it is clear that he was all the time reinterpreting it. However, as the apostle grew older, the apocalyptic imagery of the earlier days tended to disappear, at least from the foreground of his thought, and more and more his mind came to dwell upon the gradual growth and upbuilding of the divine commonwealth. The realisation of the hope of the world has already begun since the first coming of Christ.² Dodd also stated that 'it is in the epistles of Paul that full justice is done for the first time to the principle of "realised eschatology". What has been contemplated in the future has become a present reality now'.³ Dodd/

1. N.Q. Hamilton saw Dodd's work on Paul as indicating a 'realised eschatological standpoint'. He quoted Dodd as saying that 'Paul abandons the futuristic eschatology of 2 Thessalonians 1:7-10 for a realised eschatology' (Apostolic Preaching, p. 39); see N.Q. Hamilton, 'The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul', in The Scottish Journal of Theology, Occasional Papers, no. 6, 1957, pp. 61ff., 65, 67.

2. 'Mind of Paul', pp. 108ff.

3. Apostolic Preaching, p. 154.

Dodd's understanding of the Pauline Christ-mysticism clearly shows the realised aspect of Paul's maturer eschatological system. Dodd suggests that the futuristic eschatology of Paul as demonstrated by his earlier epistles has been replaced by his Christ-mysticism.¹ Instead of a life lived in an impatient expectation of the future, Paul finds in the Christ-mysticism the possibility of living the new life now rooted in close communion with the risen Christ. By associating the Christ-mysticism with Paul's doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ, the medium of operation of the Holy Spirit, and the sphere of divine grace and supernatural life, Dodd sees the place of ethics within Paul's mysticism.² The supernatural order of life has become the field of the eschatological miracle and through communion with Christ, a Christian could come to experience such existence.

It seems that Robinson is only echoing what Dodd has already stated concerning the 'realised' aspect of Paul's eschatology, with its sphere of operation in the Church, the Body of Christ. Perhaps the only major contribution that Robinson made could be seen in his understanding of the unity between the 'already present' and the 'yet to come' aspects of not only Jesus' but also Paul's eschatology. Such a unity would help bring closer to each other the relationship of eschatology and ethics in the teaching of not only Jesus and Paul, but of the New Testament as a whole.

1. Apostolic Preaching, p. 149.

2. Ibid., pp. 151ff.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Dodd's interpretation of not only Jesus' but also Paul's eschatology did not attract a considerable following among continental scholars. Many found Dodd's exposition one-sided and therefore held that it could not represent a fair assessment of Jesus', Paul's and the New Testament's teaching on the topic of eschatology.

Dodd's thesis has been attacked on both linguistic and theological grounds. A clear example of the linguistic attack is an article by J.Y. Campbell.¹ This linguistic debate on the meaning of ἡγγικεν and ἐφθασεν has developed into two groups - those scholars taking the side of J.Y. Campbell and the other in support of Dodd's point of view.² In Dodd's response he pointed out that 'Mr. Campbell takes ἡγγικεν at its face value, and tries to make ἐφθασεν conform, while I take ἐφθασεν at its face value, and try to make ἡγγικεν conform. I believe his task is the harder'.³ Thus there is no need to pursue this linguistic debate further, as in itself it is not conclusive.

It has been indicated also that Dodd's whole eschatological interpretation, not only of Jesus but also of Paul and of the early/

1. J.Y. Campbell, op.cit., pp. 91-94.

2. See section on C.H. Dodd's 'realised eschatology', pp. 58-60.

3. Dodd, Expository Times xlvi, pp. 138-142.

early Christian proclamation, involves a process of selection and elimination.¹ Dodd understood the division between the present and the future salvation to be a product of the early Church's effort to restate in terms of Jewish eschatology the importance of the Christ event as the ultimate fulfilment of the divine purpose in history. Thus in Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology' he seems to have given more emphasis to the form and character of the language used than to its contents. His view of the development of Paul's eschatology with its decisive turn at the end of 2 Corinthians when Paul abandoned the cosmic-catastrophic language of Jewish apocalyptic led him to look to the beyond rather than to the future for the fulfilment of salvation. This once again brought Dodd to his hellenistic and Platonic system of interpretation for which he received much criticism.² O. Cullmann accuses Dodd of trying to harmonise Platonism and eschatology.³

Theological objections to Dodd's thesis underline the concern that the proper and desirable emphasis upon the present Christian life which characterises Dodd's 'realised eschatology' could easily lead to the dissolution of the future as the true historical future of man. Dodd's strong emphasis caused him to ignore or slight man's temporal future, making him an atemporal being. The future then/

1. For references to Paul see J. Lowe, 'An Examination of Attempts to Detect Developments in St. Paul's Theology', J.T.S., 1941, pp. 129-142.
2. G.E. Ladd, Theology of the New Testament, London, 1975, p. 48; E.E. Ellis, op.cit., p. 33; O. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 83f., 148f., 168; Salvation in History, pp. 14f., 32, 172.
3. Salvation in History, p. 34.

then becomes a metaphysical realm running parallel to present life rather than offering an existence toward which man is always moving. A strong theological attack is presented by scholars like R.H. Fuller, J. Mbiti, W.G. Kümmel, H. Conzelmann, A.N. Wilder and many others who were very much concerned with the place of human destiny and the future hope for man in the teaching of Jesus and the New Testament as a whole. For R.H. Fuller, 'to place the decisive event in the past or the present in this way not only does violence to the texts in which Jesus speaks of the Kingdom of God, not only fails to do justice to the way in which our Lord's ministry is keyed up to a future event, to the tension which manifests itself on every page of the Gospel, but above all, it destroys the cruciality of the cross'.¹ H.M. Shires strongly objected to Dodd's thesis for two reasons:

i. In such an analysis, the extent and strength of this world's evil are not significantly recognised.

ii. The future becomes almost meaningless because it has nothing essential to contribute that is not already present. Once again the time process is reduced to insignificance.² According to J. Mbiti, the realisation of the Kingdom of God is not exhausted in the present, rather it retains more futurity than Dodd allows. The futurity is yet present in Jesus Christ; it is to be realised by the Church in terms of unveiling and fulfilment.³ H. Conzelmann sees/

1. R.H. Fuller, op.cit., pp. 48-49.

2. H.M. Shires, op.cit., p. 14; also J. Kallas, op.cit., p. 105.

3. Mbiti, op.cit., p. 42.

sees the accessibility of the eschatological salvation to us now in an anticipatory way. The end has already cast its light in the present through Jesus Christ; however its final fulfilment is still yet to come.¹ A. N. Wilder, though he agrees with Dodd on the 'realised' aspect of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus, yet at the same time sees that the restriction of the meaning of the Kingdom to a 'present decision or possibility', or to an exclusively 'realised eschatology' excludes the element of hope for human destiny which is the essence of Jewish and Christian faith.²

Dodd's strong antipathy towards apocalyptic in the New Testament has been closely analysed and criticised by N.Q. Hamilton.³ Hamilton recognises the difficulties of interpreting the thought of the New Testament, for this apocalyptic element is present in all its strata. Dodd seems to recognise this difficulty also.⁴

The development of Paul's eschatology which became an important factor in Dodd's argument for a 'realised eschatological standpoint' in Paul is strongly contested by Hamilton.⁵ According to Hamilton, the main fallacy in Dodd's argument for 'realised eschatology' in Paul seems to be that in noting the change from the belief in a/

1. H. Conzelmann, Jesus, Philadelphia, 1973, pp. 70-71.

2. Eschatology and Ethics, p. 69.

3. N.Q. Hamilton, op.cit., pp. 56-61.

4. Apostolic Preaching, p. 57.

5. Hamilton, op.cit., pp. 63ff.

a speedy return of Christ to belief in an imminent return of Christ he has attempted to prove too much. Hamilton agrees with Dodd that Paul no doubt adjusted his expectations from a speedy return to simply an imminent return, allowing the question of 'when' to drop.¹ This amounted to taking seriously the answer of Christ to his disciples: 'But of that day or that hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father. Take heed, watch; for you do not know when the time will come' (Mark 13:32-33). To Hamilton, the alternatives were not, in Paul's mind, either a speedy return or disinterest in any return. Dodd does not state expressly that Paul lost interest in the second advent of Christ, but he is in danger of implying as much. Dodd could not adequately dispense with the futuristic references of Paul. Hope for the future continued to play a positive role in his thought well into his mature life. Furthermore, these futuristic elements in Paul's writings show that the Platonic concept of time does not fit the apostle's thought. Because of the intrusion of Platonic elements into Dodd's exposition of Paul, it seems that he has missed the true nature of the eschatological in Paul. In 'realised eschatology', the tension is between the absolute and the relative, while in Paul the tension is that between the 'already present' and the 'not yet fulfilled'. It is a temporal, not a metaphysical tension.²

1. In Dodd's treatment of the subject, he fails to distinguish between a speedy return and an imminent return (Apostolic Preaching, p. 63).

2. Hamilton, op.cit., p. 70.

It seems that much of the criticisms of Dodd reflects an awareness on the part of New Testament scholars of the necessity of a futuristic element in the eschatology of Jesus, Paul and the New Testament as a whole. This concern certainly did not go unheeded, since Dodd in his later works showed modifications of his earlier thesis of 'realised eschatology', allowing room for a futuristic hope and consummation of the world - not within this sphere but within the sphere which is beyond time and space, that of an other-worldly existence.

However, despite all the criticisms, Dodd's work on New Testament eschatology had certainly made positive contributions to the whole question of New Testament eschatological interpretation. As will be shown later on, New Testament interpretation of eschatology has developed one step further through the works of C.H. Dodd. Many scholars have come to see the whole question of eschatology in a wholly new light; and although many did not agree whole-heartedly with Dodd, especially in his hellenistic and Platonic understanding of the 'eschaton', yet they were able to see one side of the problem through his work. Following the publication of Dodd's book The Parables of the Kingdom, it became generally accepted that there was both a present and a future aspect to the message of Jesus concerning the Kingdom of God.

In the history of twentieth century interpretation of New Testament, Dodd has established an undisputed reputation for himself as the chief exponent of the 'realised' eschatological viewpoint which has been profoundly influential on theological thinking especially here in Britain for nearly a generation now.

Dodd's emphasis on the 'presentness' of Jesus' eschatology and the New Testament generally opened up another aspect of eschatology which was largely ignored by the 'consistent' school of interpretation. His pioneer activity in the study of 'realised eschatology' has been such that no one can ever read the Gospels now without recognising the large element of 'realised eschatology' present in them. G.E. Ladd asserted that 'C.H. Dodd is right in affirming that the most characteristic and distinctive of the Gospel sayings are those which speak of a present coming of the Kingdom. Such sayings have no parallel in Jewish teaching of prayers of the period'.¹ However, even though Dodd was right in his emphasis on the 'realised' aspect of Jesus' and the New Testament's eschatology, he has no doubt exaggerated that element to the point where much less than justice is done to the counter-balancing elements. Many scholars² agree with Dodd that the 'realised' aspect of eschatology is present in the teaching of Jesus and the New Testament generally. However, at the same time, these scholars have also acknowledged that futuristic eschatology is important for an adequate understanding of New Testament eschatology. Realised and futuristic eschatology need each other as a complement if the progress and consummation of God's/

1. G.E. Ladd, Theology of the New Testament, p. 65; cf. C.H. Dodd, Parables, p. 49.
2. Naming a few: F.F. Bruce, W. Manson, G.E. Ladd, J.W. Fraser, W.G. Kümmel, C.K. Barrett, etc., etc.

God's Kingdom are to be seen in true perspective.¹

The theory of 'realised eschatology' has no doubt reasserted the central significance of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus for the whole discussion of eschatology. Dodd's thesis is important since it places the centre of salvation history squarely at the proper place in the ministry, the cross and the resurrection of Christ. By placing the emphasis on God's acts and God's initiative, it has disposed of the idea of automatic progress as a possible Christian interpretation of history. It also brings these crucial events into the centre of history and of life now. They are not remote events from our normal and daily existence; in fact they are the very events that shape and influence every Christian's life here and now. Thus 'realised eschatology' helps to draw attention away from a 'consistent' contemplation of the unknown future to the benefits of redemption which are already available and active here and now.²

It seems most probable that Dodd's primary concern in his thesis of 'realised eschatology' was to show how the Gospel could be made relevant to modern history and the life of today without in the least sacrificing anything of the truth of the Gospel. The breakdown of the nineteenth century 'quest for the historical Jesus' by continental scholars which threatened the historical value of the Gospel's witness to Jesus' life and teaching, may have been/

1. J.W. Fraser, Jesus and Paul, p. 19; G.S. Duncan, Jesus and Son of Man, p. 190; W. Manson, 'Eschatology in the New Testament', Scottish Journal of Theology, Occasional Papers, no. 2, 1953, p. 7; F.F. Bruce, *op.cit.*, p. 267.

2. N.Q. Hamilton, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

been responsible for Dodd's search for an alternative solution to safeguard what he may have thought a fatal crisis for the Gospel witness. This concern became especially evident in his treatment of the relation between history and the Gospel, for in this relation both the offence which belongs to the Gospel and its relevance became evident. Dodd considered a study of the primitive Christian preaching, confronting it in the strange terms of its day, to be the first step towards genuine relevance. The Gospel itself can never be other than it was at the beginning.¹ For Christianity, the eternal God is revealed in history.² The coming of Jesus Christ, his ministry, death and resurrection were the unique and absolute self-revelation of God.³ Therefore, the relevance of the Gospel according to Dodd is its eschatology - more specifically 'realised eschatology'. The New Testament writers are clear that history is henceforward qualitatively different from what it was before Christ's coming. The Christian era marks an abrupt break in the relation in which the 'People of God', and indeed the whole human race stands to the historical order. Precisely because this eschatology is a 'realised eschatology' which concentrates on the present and withholds nothing for the future, nor insists on the hope of what is not yet seen, it is relevant. The traditional conception of eschatology with/

1. C.H. Dodd, History, p. 163.

2. Ibid., p. 23.

3. The point is developed in Apostolic Preaching, p. 87.

with outstanding, not yet realised promised benefits, raises rather than solves the problem of relevance.

Although Dodd's attempt to preserve the historicity of the Gospel in terms of its existing relevance through its eschatology has presented many crucial problems, one of which is that it creates a strong and extreme antipathy toward the futuristic and apocalyptic elements in traditional eschatology, yet Dodd's attempt no doubt represents a true and genuine concern for the historical value and continued relevance of the Gospel tradition and message for the Christians of today.¹

Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology' indicated that here, once again, a single biblical concept was used to relate all the New Testament materials in a unified development. Basic to Dodd's 'realised eschatology' is the proclamation of the kerygma, that the new age has come in the person and mission of Jesus. Dodd finds the unity of the New Testament message in this kerygma. As previously expounded in Part One, Dodd indicated that to Paul belongs the credit for the first theology of this eschatology. In/

1. One finds in Dodd a profound interest in history and a concern that the truly historical nature of Christianity be taken seriously. This is evident in the number of times he deals specifically with the problem in books and articles, (History and the Gospel, 'History as Revelation' in Bible Today, 'Eschatology and History' in Apostolic Preaching, 'Some Considerations upon the Historical Aspect of the Fourth Gospel' in The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, The Kingdom of God and History, 'The Gospel as History, A Reconsideration', B.J.R.L. xxii), and also in frequent comments which insist on the reality of God's historical activity.

In Dodd's words, 'it is in the epistles of Paul that full justice is done for the first time to the thesis of "realised eschatology"'.¹ In The Parables of the Kingdom, the teachings and utterances of Jesus are presented as expressing a fully realised view of eschatology. John carries out the same principle with more thorough-going consistency, 'deliberately subordinating the "futuristic eschatology" of the early Church to the "realised eschatology"'.² After citing passages from Matthew, Acts, Paul, Hebrews, 1 Peter, and John, Dodd feels justified in concluding that 'for the New Testament writers in general the eschaton has entered history the age to come has come. The Gospel of primitive Christianity is a Gospel of "realised eschatology"'.³

This attempt to unify the New Testament materials reflects considerable originality on the part of the British scholar. His insistence on his unifying principle of 'realised eschatology', despite countless problems and objections, indicates a significant concern on the part of an optimist to maintain the historical validity of the New Testament testimony against the scepticism of/

1. Apostolic Preaching, p. 65; n.b. The same development is summed up in the book History and the Gospel, p. 30.
2. Apostolic Preaching, p. 66. Perhaps it is important also to note here that Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology' led to a new assessment of the Gospel of John, that it no longer attests to a spiritualisation or deeschatologising or demythologising, but that, on the contrary, it is in continuity with the views of Jesus.
3. Apostolic Preaching, p. 85.

of the nineteenth century History of Religions School which dominated continental scholarship of the time. No doubt negative influences have contributed in the formulation of Dodd's thesis - e.g. W. Wrede's work Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien which would destroy the historical value of Mark's Gospel, and A. Schweitzer's Von Reimarus zu Wrede - Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung, which would make Jesus a deluded fanatic. Dodd no doubt was anxious to save the historical value of the Gospels, but refused to take refuge in 'thorough-going eschatology'. Against Schweitzer's 'consistent' interpretation of Jesus' eschatology, which consequently creates a rift between Jesus' and Paul's eschatology, Dodd's 'realised eschatology' helps to bring the two closer to each other. Dodd's thesis draws not only Pauline teaching closer to that of Jesus, but also that of the whole of the New Testament as a unified whole, with its centre in the events of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. These events for Dodd mark the beginning of the new age - the Kingdom of God is already present now.

When Dodd proposed his thesis of 'realised eschatology', the works of A. Schweitzer and his 'consistent' interpretation of eschatology were the dominant influence in eschatological interpretation. Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology' presented another extreme exposition of Jesus' teaching. Thus the exegetical difficulties that were thrown up by these two extreme solutions of the problem of the early Christian expectation of the end compelled research once again to undertake a basic examination of the problem of the appropriate theological and historical understanding of New Testament eschatology. Therefore, since the works of Schweitzer and/

and Dodd, which give absolute priority to the significance of eschatology in understanding not only Jesus' and Paul's teaching but New Testament theology generally, eschatology is no longer given insignificant attention in New Testament research, but is regarded as an integral part to be reckoned with in understanding the teaching of the New Testament.

Both Dodd and Schweitzer recognised the importance of eschatology as the framework within which the teaching of Jesus and Paul, and the New Testament generally, are to be understood. Dodd is right in declaring that 'in a masterly fashion Paul has claimed the whole territory of the Church's life as the field of the eschatological miracle'.¹ It is true that Dodd could have been described as allergic to apocalyptic in general (Dodd makes scanty reference in his published works to the Revelation of St. John the Divine) and therefore as unsympathetic to Schweitzer's radical theory. Yet he did not deny the importance of eschatology as a framework or context so long as it was recognised that Jesus' own interpretation of the eschatological hope was different from anything conceived in Judaism before or during his time. It is important to see here that Dodd's profound concern for eschatology constitutes a striking example of his willingness to draw upon the brilliant insight of a German scholar in regard to the importance of a particular instrument of interpretation, but then to adopt and adapt that instrument in his/

1. Apostolic Preaching, p. 65; see also Shires, op.cit., pp. 36ff.

his own distinctive way in accordance with his own distinctive tradition.¹ This is also true of the way Dodd had used ideas, expositions, and exegetical notes of German scholars like A. von Harnack, E. von Dobschütz, A. Deissmann, and R. Otto in an attempt to establish his theory of 'realised eschatology' not only of Jesus and Paul, but of the whole of the New Testament.² As previously indicated, Dodd had made use of the wealth of ideas and suggestions used by these earlier scholars; however, his ultimate goal of developing a 'fully realised eschatological interpretation' of Jesus' and Paul's eschatology was something which was never anticipated by any of these German scholars. Dodd had been selective in what he adopted from these earlier works, using them as means and tools for achieving and solidifying his thesis. So what Dodd had borrowed from his earlier predecessors³ was utilised as a means to an end.

The 'realised eschatology' of Dodd is also important in the sense that it ties the kerygma inseparably to history. The Gospel does not consist of timeless and eternal truths expressed in temporal categories. For Dodd, the kingly rule of God has arrived; the Day of the Lord has come; Jesus is Lord; the eschaton has arrived, not in ideas or concepts or emotions or shadows of reality, but in hard actual, objective events in Jesus of Nazareth. Although/

1. F.W. Dillistone, op.cit., p. 223.

2. See Part Two on the Predecessors of Dodd.

3. N.b. Chapters on Harnack, Dobschütz, Deissmann, and Otto.

Although Dodd's radical treatment of the eschatological material in the Gospels has been seriously questioned and probably shows an accommodation of the evidence to his own position, it is still true that C.H. Dodd makes a genuine attempt to take history seriously in his interpretation of eschatology.¹

Dodd's interpretation of eschatology no doubt has opened up another possibility of interpreting the eschatological passages in the New Testament. His resultant thesis of 'realised eschatology' suggests that Dodd gave more attention to the form of the language employed than its content. Perhaps this represents a significant development from the objective data constructions of A. Schweitzer and later of O. Cullmann. It is worth noting here again that Dodd called the notion of a chronological end to history 'a fiction designed to express the reality of teleology within history'.² Further, the residue of eschatology which is found in the Christian message expresses in Parousia-imagery the note of absolute finality which characterises the struggle for fulfilment. What Dodd offered was an awareness that eschatological language is not the language of strict logic but is a 'less structured word' involving time and social intercourse;³ i.e. the eschatological language should not be/

1. J.H. Burtness, 'Eschatology and Ethics in the Pauline Epistles', Ph.D. Thesis at Princeton, 1958, p. 86.
2. Apostolic Preaching, pp. 82ff.
3. William G. Doty, 'Identifying Eschatological Language', Mimeographed Paper, p. 15.

be interpreted at its literal face value, since it is symbolical, and therefore many factors are involved for its interpretation and understanding.

Perhaps one of Dodd's major contributions in his study of New Testament eschatology is his consistent emphasis on the close relationship between eschatology and ethics. From the relationship of kerygma and didache in Dodd's Apostolic Preaching, it is possible to see that, for Dodd, in the New Testament generally and in the Pauline epistles specifically, Christianity is presented as an ethical religion. While it is possible to extract from the New Testament moral maxims of general application even apart from their Christian setting, the true genius of Christian ethics becomes visible only when it is recognised that all ethical maxims are correlative with the religious affirmation which constitutes the Christian Gospel.¹ For Dodd, kerygma and didache go together. Kerygma is the proclamation of the facts of the life, death, and resurrection of Christ. It is centred on the person and work of Christ, and the kingly rule of God which has already been manifested.² There is no Christian faith apart from ethical behaviour, there is no ethic in Christianity apart from religion. Therefore, there is no didache apart from the kerygma. Dodd repeatedly points to the/

1. Dodd, 'The Ethics of the New Testament', in Moral Principles of Action, ed. by Ruth N. Anshen, London, 1952, p. 542.

2. Apostolic Preaching, p. 13.

the intimate relation of eschatology to ethics in the New Testament. The following is typical: 'It is common ground to all writers of the New Testament that they are living in a unique period of history. This was, in terms of Jewish thought, the "last time" (eschaton) to which the prophets had looked forward, when God would intervene in history with a mighty hand and inaugurate the "age to come". The essential feature of the situation was that those who felt the full impact of the great crisis and allowed their lives to be shaped by it now stood in the presence of God in a more immediate way than they had before conceived possible. In consequence, both the urgency of the ethical demands of God and the moral and spiritual resources available to meet them were immensely enhanced.'¹

Dodd acknowledges four areas which give to the Christian ethic as outlined in the New Testament a unique stamp. The four areas are Christian eschatology, the idea of the 'Body of Christ', the imitation of Christ, and the primacy of love. The interesting thing as Dodd lays out these four areas is the ambiguity with which he uses the word 'eschatology'. On the one hand, eschatology is one motif among four, and though he places it first, there is little indication that it is more important than any of the others. In this instance, he is talking about eschatology in the narrow sense of the doctrine of the last things. On the other hand, Dodd says that these 'ethical ideas are transformed by being brought into a context which is/

1. Dodd, 'The Ethics of the New Testament', p. 547.

is religious through and through, being defined by the Gospel itself as it is contained in the kerygma'.¹ In other words, each of these four areas is defined by its relation to the kerygma, and the kerygma by Dodd's own definition is 'a proclamation of the facts of the death and resurrection of Christ in an eschatological setting which gives significance to the facts'.² Thus, though Dodd sometimes talks about eschatology as one of the four motifs for ethics in the New Testament, he would be more consistent and true to his own position if he used eschatology here in a broader sense and tied each motif to the kerygma in which it is contained and to the eschatology from which it gains its meaning and significance.

When Dodd speaks of eschatology, he is referring to 'realised eschatology'. He bases Paul's ethics on the mature ethics of the apostle. Such ethics are firmly grounded on the affirmation that the 'eschaton', the new age, has arrived through the events of Christ's life, death, and resurrection. Dodd refers to Paul's ethic as an ethic of crisis. 'Crisis' is a familiar word to those who read Dodd's exposition of The Parables of the Kingdom, and it is a key-word in 'realised eschatology'. According to Dodd, the message of Jesus was that in his own person, the eternal significance of history was revealed, and that men were called to decision in the crisis of this moment. With regard to Paul, it is/

1. Gospel and Law, p. 25.

2. Apostolic Preaching, p. 13.

is notably in the commentary on Romans that Dodd talks about the Pauline ethic as the 'ethic of crisis',¹ and this is particularly interesting since in Paul's view, Romans is the epistle in which Paul wrote the 'most considered account of Christian' ethics that he (had) as yet produced'.² Thus, in Dodd's interpretation of the apostle Paul, the Christian life is a life lived in the demand for decision which comes with the awareness of the crisis of the Christ-event.³ It is important to note here that Dodd had clearly indicated the very close relationship between ethics and eschatology, not only in the teaching of Jesus and Paul, but in the New Testament generally. Dodd once again had brought Jesus and Paul closer to each other through his understanding of their ethical teaching. Both Jesus' and Paul's ethical teaching he had described as an 'ethic of crisis', an ethic which arose out of the state of things made possible by the fact of 'realised eschatology'.

A large part of the positive content of Paul's ethic is in fact supplied from his conception of the Christian society.⁴ Over a section in the exposition of Ephesians 4:25-32, Dodd places the heading 'The Social Organism as the Positive Basis of Ethics'.⁵ For/

1. Romans, pp. 208ff.

2. Gospel and Law, p. 29.

3. Dodd, The Bible Today, Cambridge, 1946, p. 132.

4. Dodd, 'Ethics', p. 203.

5. Dodd, Ephesians, Abingdon Bible Commentary, Nashville, 1929, p. 1233.

For Dodd, as surely as for Paul himself, the Body of Christ is an eschatological phenomenon, for it grows directly out of the proclamation of the kerygma. Also being a member of the Body of Christ to Paul, implies the participation in the blessings of the Age to Come already made available through Christ's life, death, and resurrection. Christ had died and had been raised again, and this meant that the community that emerges out of the crisis was a new humanity, because it had been crucified with Christ and had been raised with him. 'In that profoundly religious conviction the Christian doctrine of community, with the social ethic arising out of it, is grounded.'¹ Throughout Dodd's writings, there is a strong emphasis on the corporate.² Speaking about the view of the 'mature' Paul in Galatians 3:23 - 4:7; Romans 14:17; Philippians 3:13f., Dodd says that the message of Paul is that the Kingdom of God is here, and that all that God ever designed for his people is now available to men within the Church of Christ.³ But this is not to be taken in an individualistic way. These claims which Paul makes are not for individual members of the Church, but for the Church as a Body.⁴

1. Gospel and Law, p. 36.

2. This separates Dodd decisively from Bultmann. Evidence of the marked contrast between the corporate emphasis of Dodd and the existentialism of Bultmann is the latter's critique of Dodd in the Dodd Festschrift; ed. by W.D. Davies and D. Daubé, 'The Bible Today und die Eschatologie', p. 408.

3. Bible Today, p. 71.

4. Ibid., 142.

Dodd has rightly seen that Paul speaks of the Church as the eschatological community which came into existence through the proclamation of the kerygma. In it the ethical implications of the kerygma should be manifested, and the blessings brought by Jesus' coming, death and resurrection made available. As such, the Church or, in Paul's words, the Body of Christ is an integral part of eschatology. It represents the other half of eschatology which continues to exist in the world now and is gradually moving towards final and full realisation. Although Dodd did not explicitly say that the Church was progressing towards final fulfilment in the future, yet his affirmation of the Body of Christ as an integral part of the kerygma would certainly imply the position of the 'realised' and the 'not yet'. J.A.T. Robinson took over the idea and expounded on it much more fully in his book The Body. He sees the close unity between the kerygma and the Body of Christ in Paul as basic to an understanding of eschatology. The two are not two events but one; the present and the future are so integrally united that one is incomplete without the other.¹ This understanding of eschatology by Robinson constitutes one of his major contributions, not only to Dodd's 'realised eschatology', but to the study of New Testament eschatology generally.

The assertion by B. Rigaux (which has already been pointed out) which suggests that T.F. Glasson and J.A.T. Robinson have extended/

1. See Chapter on J.A.T. Robinson.

extended Dodd's thesis of 'realised eschatology' to the Pauline epistles has been proved wrong. Dodd's thesis from its very beginning had accommodated the Pauline epistles, though the term itself was never used until his book The Parables of the Kingdom. As indicated earlier, Dodd's initial understanding of the significance of the events of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus in ushering in the new age seems to have come through his earlier studies of the Pauline epistles.¹ It was only after his Pauline studies that he committed himself to his investigation of the Gospel materials and especially the parables. In all probability, it seems that Dodd may have already formulated his view of Jesus' eschatology as 'realised', following on from his understanding of Paul before The Parables of the Kingdom, and then turned to the Gospels and especially the parables for confirmation.

The thesis of 'realised eschatology' as it stands in New Testament scholarship now can be attributed solely to the work of one man, Charles Harold Dodd. He made use of ideas, expositions, and exegetical comments from many sources and works of other scholars, but as regards his ultimate goal of presenting the teaching of Jesus and Paul, as well as of the New Testament generally, as 'fully realised eschatology' he himself stands alone. His close followers, T.F. Glasson and J.A.T. Robinson, were interested in tracing the origin of the Second Advent idea in the New Testament. Glasson's main/

1. See section of C.H. Dodd.

main concern was to show that the origin of the Second Advent lay in the early Church's interpretation of the Old Testament passages referring to the 'Day of the Lord'. This concern inevitably puts him in the position where he had to adopt Dodd's standpoint. J.A.T. Robinson in his important work Jesus and His Coming follows the work of his teacher, as well as that of Glasson. Robinson portrays an eschatology of the present which he prefers to call 'proleptic eschatology' or 'inaugurated eschatology'. Robinson's work contains a wealth of suggestions and original observations, and he goes beyond Dodd to raise the precise question of the origin of the assertion of Jesus' return. For Robinson, this came neither from Jesus nor from Judaism. He believes he is now able to explain its origin from Acts 3:13-26, where an old Christology is found. Consequently, Robinson agrees with Dodd's exegesis of the parables of Jesus.

It is important to note here that Dodd had modified his eschatological standpoint in his later writings, namely The Coming of Christ, 1951, and The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, 1953. Here, Dodd is inclined to assent to the alternative terms suggested which make concessions to a futuristic aspect in eschatology.¹ Indeed, it is a tribute to the great scholar that he showed such openness to a modification of his standpoint in the light of further studies.

1. Dodd, though he showed assent to these later terms, yet never used them in his later writings.

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